

## FOREWORD

This present work brings out the unique military genius of Hari Singh Nalwa (1791-1837), the celebrated General of the Sikh army. I warmly recommend the book to our readers. Hari Singh Nalwa was a leader of outstanding qualities. He fought in almost all the important battles of the Lahore armies. The campaigns of Multan, Kashmir, Hazara and Peshawar were of classical proportions. The sealing of Indian border against invasions from across the western frontier was a unique contribution to history of India. I hope this study will benefit not only professional historians but also lay readers.

*Punjabi University,  
Patiala*

Joginder Singh Puar  
Vice-Chancellor

## PREFACE

History, they say, repeats itself. The repetition lies in studying the relevance of past events in the contemporary present without meanwhile ignoring the achievements of the past. In this context the life and times of General Hari Singh Nalwa are of utmost significance.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh encouraged setting up of a composite Punjabi culture by bringing together the people of the Punjab with different religious traditions. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims evolved a common culture, what is now called Punjabi. By respecting the sentiments of the people of all religions, castes and creeds in various ways and means, opportunities for nascent Punjabi nationalism were provided.

General Hari Singh Nalwa undertook the arduous task of going on blood squeezing campaigns or administering people of newly acquired territories with an unorthodox spirit and aspirations and took care of the whole affair with his companions brought up in the composite culture. Discipline and secular outlook rather than religious constraints and considerations guided the Nalwa Sardar in discharging the duties assigned to him.

General Hari Singh Nalwa fought and commanded almost all the formidable battles fought by the Lahore troops. He rendered conspicuous service towards extending the boundaries of the kingdom of Lahore roughly from 1810 to 1837 upto the natural boundaries of the Punjab and sacrificed his life for this patriotic mission. The sealing of the North Western Frontier Border was a unique act having international legacy.

Such is the expanse of the subject 'The Campaigns of General Hari Singh Nalwa' by which we have traced the achievements and glamour of the 'Terror of the Afghans' in different serials and sections namely the Sikhs and army organisation in the eighteenth century, formation of forces, new orientation, treaties of 1801, 1806 and 1809 - North Western Frontier Policy, Nalwa Sardar as a general and an administrator.

It is hoped that this treatise will interest the students of history of the Punjab. We shall be amply awarded if it provokes further research on the subject.

Last but not the least, I shall be failing in my duties if, I do not place on record the gratitude I owe to my wife Harcharan Kaur who has helped me a lot in finalising this work by crossing the many "t's" and dotting the many "i's". The interest taken by Dr Hazara Singh of Publication Bureau in the printing of this book is conspicuous and hardly requires any elaboration.

*15 August, 1995*

**Gurbachan Singh Nayyar**

## **CONTENTS**

Foreword

Preface

The Sikhs and Army Organisation in the Eighteenth Century

Formation of Forces: New Orientation

Treaties of 1801, 1806 and 1809 - North Western Frontier Policy

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa: The Campaigns

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa As a General and an Administrator

Appendix-I

Appendix-II

Bibliography

Index

## THE SIKHS AND ARMY ORGANISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Before we take up the army organisation of the Sikhs in the eighteenth century which formed the basis of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's modified and improved structure of army-fashioning in which General Hari Singh Nalwa functioned, it is quite in the fitness of things to discuss at some length the rise and growth of the Sikhs and the origin of Sikh army from its very inception.

Religion was a way of life with Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the founder of Sikhism who believed in the integration of human beings and the essence of whose teaching lies in certain salient features namely the faith in one true Lord, the worship of the Name, the necessity of Guru in God realization, emphasis on the theory of Karma, denunciation of caste system and sectarianism etc. etc. The Guru showed no disrespect to any religion or its divinities. As a matter of fact, his teachings did not attack the bottom-lines and the cardinal points but distortions, slantings and false colouring of the contemporary religions. He discarded asceticism and disapproved and disclaimed the Hindu mythology. The reforms introduced by him were, of course, basic and of radical nature which went a long way in founding novel brotherhood of devotees.

Guru Nanak made his appearance when caste, creeds and disunity caused by diversity of beliefs was a part and parcel of the Indian society. The Guru attempted to bring about order in this chaos. He proclaimed logical and simple solutions for attaining self-realization and used a practical approach. In order to spread his injunctions to far and wide places, he commenced his tours known as *udasis* in c. 1496.

Guru Nanak tingled people with enthusiasm and created a thrilling sensation by red ting self-composed reflexive and unpremeditated hymns with a natural flow of music. Bhai Gurdas says that the Guru proceeded on throughout the whole *udasis* like a conqueror to convey the divine mission to all and sundry.

When the Baba looked around he peeped upon the whole world as a scene of conflagration. People were heard to say in agony: without the (true) Guru, there is darkness everywhere.

The Baba then in the guise of a traveller set out on his *udasis*. Thus, did he advance to improve the state of affairs prevailing in the contemporary world.

Bhai Gurdas further comments:

The appearance of *Sat Guru Nanak* dissipated the mist and spread light in the world. It was like the rising of the sun which caused stars to vanish and the darkness to dispel. Or, it resembled the roaring of a lion which having struck awe in the wild animals, caused them to take to flight in a state of breathlessness<sup>2</sup>.

Guru Nanak graced the South West of the Punjab in the company of Mardana, a Muslim rebeck-player of his native village. He showed his disapproval of Malik Bhago, a rich man of his own Kshatriya caste at Syedpur in district Gujranwala by declining the invitation to stay with one who had enriched himself by unfair means. The Guru preferred to grace the modest residence of a disciple and sincere man of thought and deeds named Bhai Lalo, the carpenter who earned his living by the sweat of his brow. Guru Nanak thus, evinced that honest living by low castes was more dignified than dishonest living of those born with a silver spoon in their mouths. He regarded hard work and honesty as fundamental to the building of moral strength. He laid stress on the paramountcy of soul.

At Achal Batala in Gurdaspur district he had a dialogue with the *yogis*. Bhai Gurdas gives a pen portrait of the encounter. Bhangar Nath Yogi curiously asked the Guru why he had endeavoured to mix vinegar with milk. The triplication was that the Guru had polluted the life of seclusion led previously by him by starting a house hold and taking up a worldly way of living. The pot containing milk of spirituality had

been spoiled and no butter— the gist of spirituality had come out of the churning.

The Guru responded that the Almighty graced only the pure and holy hearts. The Guru observed that the *Yogi* regarded himself sanctified only by leading a renunciated life forgetting at the same time that he had to rely upon the house-holders for his fundamental requirements. The Guru denounced asceticism and the torturing of the body. Guru Nanak visited Multan, the contemporary centre of Sufi saints during his *udasis*. Four things were conspicuous and prominent about Multan of those days— dust, heat, beggars and grave yards. The Guru passed a full night at Talumba and transformed Sajjan, a deceit who pretended to be a holy man.

He was, in fact, a tyrant and a robber who way laid the travellers and killed them after extending them an invitation to spend a night at his place. The Guru was able to reform the robber by his divine songs which he recited before him. The very first *dharmshala* was thus, established by the Guru at Sajjan's place and he was nominated as a missionary to spread the faith.

Bhai Gurdas portrays how the Sufi Saints of Multan presented a brimming milk bowl to the Guru during his visit to the place which depicted and implied that Multan was already overcrowded by saints and stood in no more need of them. The Guru is said to have duly sent back the bowl with a jasmine flower, meaning thereby that he could also be accommodated there among the other saintly folk multiplying fragrance. On the eve of his visit to Pakpattan, the Guru dialogued with Sheikh Bhraham, the then head of the Sufi school of thought there and discussed divinity with him.

The Sheikh observed and commented on the inability of the worldly man to attain God-head chiefly owing to the risk of falling on the ground by sitting between two stools. The Guru, however, expressed an otherwise opinion. The Guru commented that spiritual attachment offered protection from worldly involvement and the obligation of family life curbed the tendency of renunciation. The Guru also paid visits to Dipalpur, Kanganpur and various other stations propagating the message that God's Name was the panacea for all the ills of humanity.

Guru Nanak's journey eastwards (1497-1509) covered Kurukshetra, Delhi, Mathura, Agra, Hardwar, Ayodhya, Banaras, Gaya etc. At Delhi, he is said to have offered drinking water drawn from a well to the passers-by. This visit of the Guru is commemorated by the historic shrine called Nanak *pyao*.

Some scholars hold that Guru Nanak met Kabir at Banaras and had a dialogue with him. He visited Puri, Bhopal, Jhansi, Gwalior, Rewari, Thanesar etc. *Aarti* performed by the people and the response and reaction of the Guru is very well talked about even to this day and forms a part of the prominent tradition. The Guru opposed symbolic worship and declared that God could not be installed in a specific place nor created. The Guru demonstrated the right kind of *aarti* to be performed by men of God which citation has been taken up from the compositions of the Guru found in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. The Guru preferred *aarti* in the lap of nature. The creation has a divine message. It provides the kind of worship through which God-head may be attained by means of the repetition of His Name. The Guru made the symbolic use of the firmament as a salver. The sun and the moon were considered as lighting lamps. The galaxy of stars was compared to the pearls studded in the sky for the worship of the Divine Being so on and so forth<sup>3</sup>. The Guru illustrated the fundamental and naked truth and nothing but the truth that an understanding of the mysteries of nature and not the empty rituals could lead to the path of God.

Guru Nanak's southward *udasi* lasted for about six years (1510- 1515). Bala, a Sidhu jat by caste appears to have accompanied him. The Guru toured through Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Sri Lanka, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujrat, Sindh and West Punjab. At Sri Lanka, he pointed out to the ruler Shivnabh in response to certain queries made by him that human beings are governed by the law of *Karma*. His Name serves as ladder for the mortals who have escaped from the transmigration of their souls by virtue of performing noble and good deeds.

The northward journey of Guru Nanak spanned over a period of about two years from 1515 to 1517 during which time he paid visits to Jawalamukhi, Kangra, Kulu, Lahaul Spiti, Tibet, China, Garwal, Sirmur etc. etc. The followers of *Yogis* Gorakh Nath and Machhendranath held religious dialogues with the Guru who made several clarifications pertaining to the issues raised therein. The main stress of the *Yogis* was on adopting the techniques of *Hath Yoga* as a way of life. By means of controlling of the nerve cells and mental and physical practices which involved torture of the body, the *yogis* claimed to possess supernatural powers while in deep meditation they were capable of sustaining breath for sufficiently long time. Severe and extreme ways and modes of penance were discarded by the Guru. The Guru, however, stressed the need of self-discipline for maintaining peace of mind. *Sehaj Yoga* was suggested by the Guru as a remedial measure for controlling the senses. *Yoga*, after all consists in abiding pure amid the impurities of the world. The Almighty ought to be sought from within. The Guru commented that the ash-smeared body of the *yogis*, their cloak, ear-rings, staff, bowl, the blowing of conches did not yield desirable results.

The contents of the compositions of Guru Nanak at one place depict that the *yogis* wanted to know the state of affairs in the motherland when the Guru delved deep into the disapproval of the ethics of adopting an indifferent attitude towards the world which was suffering upheavals of political and religious nature. The Guru thought that that was the most opportune time for them to press themselves in the service of humanity. The Guru observed that the moon of truth had been eclipsed by the darkness of falsehood. The authorities abstained from performing their duties properly and indulged in committing sins. In their turns, the people found no relevance with the divine knowledge. The *qazis* who were expected to be the custodians of justice resorted to mal-practices. The sin and tyranny had gripped the world sans spiritual leadership.<sup>4</sup>

Bhai Gurdas gives a vivid picture of Guru Nanak's visit to Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Muslim pilgrimage during his travels to West Asia in the years 1517-1521. The Guru was dressed in blue robes with a staff, an earthen container and a small carpet for sitting and singing prayers. Tradition holds that while sleeping with his feet towards Kaaba, the holy shrine, he is said to have aroused the anger of the head priest who strongly objected to the so called sacrilege committed by the Guru.<sup>5</sup>

The Guru's emphasis was on the omnipresence of God. He is said to have suggested that his feet be turned in the direction which was not graced by the Almighty. The dynamic philosophy of Guru Nanak appealed to all concerned.

Guru Nanak's philosophy was that Allah, Ram, Rahim etc. were the different names of God. This was revealed by him a number of times at a number of places during his visit to Baghdad during the period 1520-21. He repeated that mosques, temples etc. were all aimed at God. His chief message was that there was no Hindu, no Musalman. The Guru also visited Afghanistan, Iran, Kabul and Kandhar on his way back to the Punjab. He stayed at Hasanabdal and enlightened an egoist named Vali Kandhari.

Guru Nanak also gave a graphic picture of contemporary political situation together with the moral degradation of the people. The Guru commented that righteousness had taken wings and falsehood prevailed in which atmosphere God was forsaken for sensual pleasures. The Guru pleaded that the suffering was inevitable. He argued that Indians suffered from their own failings. While delving on the invasion of Babar in A.D. 1521, the Guru has portrayed the pen-picture of the devastation of hearths and homes of the people of Eminabad. The Guru lamented over the massacre of the ignorant by the victorious troops of Babar. The Guru condemned political tyranny in the context of higher religious aims of treading upon the path of righteousness and the attainment of salvation.

Guru Nanak devoted the best part of his life to the propagation of his doctrine of universal brotherhood of mankind and love of God and adopted a demonstration method for generating his ideas in others.

A serious scholar writing on the subject observes that Sikhism in its earlier stages was, therefore, exposed to a serious danger. It was not only liable to relapse into orthodoxy against which Guru Angad had tried his best to guard it, but there was greater danger of its degenerating into a narrow sect of ascetical enthusiasts or fanatics. There is no doubt that Guru Nanak was himself a married man and had not spoken of married life in contemptuous or condemnatory terms. But the transitory character of all earthly pleasures and possessions and hollowness of all earthy love and friendship had been so constantly hammered upon even by him that an active zeal for worldly pursuit was nearly as far from a Hindu heart as it had been before the advent of Nanak. His followers were still prepared to believe that the world was nothing, that it was all *maya*, a delusion and a mirage.<sup>6</sup>

It goes without saying that Guru Nanak closely observed the religious way of thinking of other schools of thought and with a broad vision preached moral principles based on humanitarianism in spontaneous poetry and music. His teachings went a long way in creating harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus. People belonging to varied castes, creeds and races followed his injunctions and became his followers on a large scale. Sujan Rai Bhandari, the author of *Khulast-ut-Tawarikh* writing in 1698 states "If a man comes at dead of night and utters the name of Baba Nanak, though he may be a stranger to all or even a thief or a way-farer or of a doubtful character, he is always welcomed as a brother and as such served forth with." Bhai Gurdas points out a number of free kitchens and *dharamsalas* established at various places visited by Guru Nanak where *sangats* were established for the sake of worshipping of the Name.

The nomination of Guru Angad (1504-1552) by Guru Nanak Dev on 14th June, 1539 is a mile-stone in the history of the Sikhs. It safeguarded the Sikh religion from the upheavals of the time. Guru Angad took care of seeing that the disciples should develop their own identity. He made efforts to gather together the compositions of Guru Nanak. The Guru modified Gurmukhi Alphabet from the *Lande Mahajani* script. This modified script played its role in giving the followers of Guru Nanak an individual existence. The institutions of *Sangat*, *Pangat* and *Langar* created during the pontificate of Guru Nanak received a boost in the days of Guru Angad. Guru Angad also took a vital step of carrying the *Udasis* out of the fold of Sikhism. This step of the Guru also contributed a lot by making Sikhism a separate faith. Sikhism which had become popular during the times of Guru Nanak began to figure prominently during the holy office of Guru Angad. Emperor Humayun's visit in the *darbar* of Guru Angad for seeking his blessings for the recovery of the lost throne, is a clear proof, if any proof is required, for the reverence Sikhism had attained during the pontificate of the second Guru.

Guru Angad Dev conferred on Amar Das (1479-1574) guruship on 29th March, 1552 owing to his very devotion which is rarely found in history. Guru Amar Das took several steps for the development and spread of Sikhism. He got constructed a *baoli*, an oblong well having eighty four foot-steps at Goindwal Sahib which developed into a significant place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs for the times to come. The Guru also popularised the practice of sitting in *pangats* for taking food in the community kitchen. He also set up twenty two preaching centres called *manjis* for the spread of Sikhism.

The Practice of *sati* was denounced in the Sikh religious order and the intake of intoxications was also prohibited. Prevalent rituals for birth and death were discarded and simple modes were introduced having stress on the citation of the composition of Guru Nanak. The practice of *pardah* among the women folk was also condemned in Sikhism.

The popularity and development of Sikhism during the pontificate of Guru Amar Das is depicted from the fact that Emperor Akbar also sat in the community kitchen at Goindwal Sahib to take food before seeing the Guru. He is said to have made a grant of land to the *langar* but the offer was duly declined by the Guru. We agree with G.C. Narang that the visit of the Emperor to the Guru's place definitely enhanced the prestige of the growing Sikh religion and made the faith of Nanak figure more prominently in the eyes of the higher strata of society. Tradition holds that Emperor Akbar was very much impressed by seeing the bridging of the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims by dint of the ability of the Guru and his universal teachings.

Guru Amar Das nominated Ram Das (1534-1581), his son-in-law as his successor on 1st September, 1574 on the eve of his demise. Several significant measures taken up during the pontificate of Guru Ram Das enhanced the prestige of Sikhism and developed it into a popular religion of the masses.

...”In 1577 he (Guru Ram Das) obtained a grant of the site, together with 500 bighas of land, from the Emperor Akbar, on payment of Rs. 700. *Akbari* to the *Zemindars* of Tung who owned the land.”<sup>77</sup> He also got excavated the holy *sarover* and laid the foundation of the present city of Amritsar then known as Chak Guru. He is said to have extended invitation to persons of 52 different trades and professions to set up their residential places then in the market of the Guru later came to be called Guru-ka-Bazar.

The work of preaching Sikhism reached its high peak during the pontificate of the fourth Guru. The visit of Baba Sri Chand, son of Guru Nanak to the *darbar* of Guru Ram Das, is in itself significant in so far it suggests that great reverence was paid to the institutions set up by Guru Nanak from all quarters. The fact that Emperor Akbar remitted the revenue of the cultivators of the Punjab for a period of one year must have enhanced the popularity of the faith of Guru Nanak.

Guru Arjan (1563-1604) was installed on *the gaddi* of Guru Nanak on 1st September, 1581. He was the youngest son of Guru Ram Das and fifth Nanak born at Goindwal in Amritsar district on April 15, 1563. He was the champion of peace and the first martyr to the faith. By his devotion, learning, original thinking, luminous poetry, efficiency in organisation and proficiency in Sikh doctrine, he shouldered the responsibility of guiding the faith which had been enunciated by Guru Nanak.

Guru Arjan, during his pontificate, often undertook extensive tours to spread the gospel of Nanak among the Jat peasants of *Majha* region of the Punjab. In order to give a boost to Sikhism he raised the number of places of Sikh pilgrimage.

In Guru Nanak’s time, Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of the Guru, Sultanpur Lodhi where he got enlightenment, and Kartarpur on the Ravi, at which place he had passed the last phase of his life were considered the holy places of the Sikhs. Guru Angad lived at Khadur on the bank of Beas, and this became another place of Sikh pilgrimage. Guru Amar Das resided at Goindwal on the Beas and constructed a *baoli* which became a prominent place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. Guru Ram Das founded Amritsar which, in due course, developed into the main centre of Sikhism. He also got excavated a holy tank there. Guru Arjan enhanced the beauty and importance of the city. He constructed Harimandir in the centre of the holy tank there. He founded the sacred towns of Tarn Taran in 1590 and Kartarpur in 1594. In this way a network of religious places of pilgrimage sprang up in one and the same region of the Punjab called *Majha*.

The only source of money was the voluntary offerings of the Sikhs’ to the Guru. Every Sikh visiting the Guru did offer him something of his or her own free will. Zulfikar Ardistani also called Mohsin Fani states that before the fifth Guru, whatever was offered by the faithful was accepted. Guru Arjan, however, during his pontificate, deputed Sikhs in every town to receive offerings. They were called *masands* and their duty was two-fold: one comprised the preaching of the teachings of Sikhism and the other to collect offerings from the followers of the faith which were to be deposited in Guru’s treasury at Amritsar. The *masands*, were picked up on the basis of their chastity, elegance, loyalty to the religious order and were probably honorary workers. The *masand* system, besides adding to the number of Sikhs, helped a great deal in enhancing the income of the Guru who spent it in the construction work and development of the faith.

Another step taken by Guru Arjan, which proved useful for the permanence, unity and strength of the Sikh religion was the compilation of *the Adi Granth* in 1604 by putting together the writings of his predecessors along with those of his own. By so doing, he arranged the compositions worthy to be read by the disciples as one whole in an integrated mode. This gave the followers set beliefs and precepts to follow. *The Adi Granth* was to serve as a light house for the Sikhs. It created a consciousness among the Sikhs that

they formed a community, having their own religious principles and a different scripture. The *Adi Granth* rendered great service in integrating the Sikhs and giving them an exclusive identity, coalescence, homogeneity and congruence.

Guru Arjan was himself responsible for playing a conspicuous role in the matter by way of his own writings which like those of his predecessors were quite unprejudicial and exclusively the outcome of his brain. His writings clearly depict the tenderness of his feelings in the sphere of spirituality and tolerance. He contributed immensely to uphold the beliefs and practices of Guru Nanak throughout his spiritual assignment.

An important lineament and facet which led to make Sikhism an integrated religion and contributed to its growth, accomplishment and amplification afterwards was the importance attached by Nanak to the person of the Guru. Guru Nanak said: "Without the Guru all is darkness." Likewise Guru Arjan himself said "Guru's *darshan* provides knowledge to the mind just as a lamp dispels darkness." He adds "Guru's wording is for one's mind just as pillar is for the strength and stability of a building. The Guru's wording was deemed as true and final by the faithful.

*Sangat* came to hold a reverential and unique place in Sikh religion. The idea of *sangat* had its origin in *sadh sangat*. Guru Nanak explained *sat sangat* as "the congregation where exclusively and particularly the name of God is repeated." Mohsin Fani writes that the number of Sikh followers rose up gradually during the pontificate of each Guru, so much so that the third Guru Amar Das organised his disciples into *manjis*. There was, however, a large increase in the time of Guru Arjan. Almost all the towns included some Sikhs in them. This positively and noticeably meant an increase in the *sangats*. Guru Arjan described *sangat* as an orchard containing dense and compact trees bearing the fruit of the Name.

Guru Arjan, like his predecessors regarded caste system quite *inconsistent* for wide spiritual aims as it made distinction between man and man. His attitude towards caste is revealed at several places in his compositions. Guru Arjan held high divine ideas and was mainly concerned with spiritual realm. Under Guru Arjan and his predecessors, Sikhism, however, remained a religion of saints, though by virtue of certain developments as the increase in *sangats*, the abolition of caste system, removal of certain odd and kooky religious ceremonies and customs, compilation of the *Adi Granth*, introducing of the *Masand* System, establishment of places of pilgrimage etc. Sikhism made itself a well organised religion sensitive and discontented against aggression and oppression. It was a purely religious order concerned with the spiritual advancement of its followers. Albeit, Guru Arjan fell a victim to the religious and political frenzy and prejudice of the rulers of the time, coupled with local and personal jealousy and was tortured to death on 30th May, 1606.

Guru Hargobind (1595-1644) was installed on the spiritual seat of Guru Nanak on 25th May, 1608<sup>8</sup>. A sort of army organisation was deemed to be a necessity by Guru Hargobind in the early days of his pontificate for the cause of righteousness. In more obvious terms, the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev suggested in specific terms that there was a danger of interference to the Sikh *Panth* from outside. The responsibility shouldered by Guru Hargobind as the fifth successor of Guru Nanak Dev thus, necessitated the use of arms for his disciples.

After a good deal of thought, therefore, the Guru perceived that Sikhs must be transformed into saint soldiers for the sake of survival adapting themselves to the changing circumstances. The Sikh religious order must be protected from the tyrannical Mughals and their representatives. It was thus, made a religious duty for the disciples to take to arms. *Hukamnamas* were sent to the disciples in different directions to bring arms.<sup>9</sup> Though initially no conflict took place between the Sikhs of the Guru and the officials of the Mughal Government yet preparations for war and a sort of army organisation was initiated by the Guru immediately after the torture and execution of the fifth Guru which resulted in an ultimate clash and a number of actions were fought later on by the Guru in the reign of Shahjahan, the successor of Jahangir.

The Guru proceeded on with his mission of fighting against tyranny and oppression with determination throughout the period of his pontificate. Some writers opine that Guru Hargobind who was only eleven years of age on the eve of the demise of his father received a parting message from him: "Let him sit fully armed on the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak and maintain an army to the best of his ability." It is to be noted here that it would be stretching facts too far. Guru Arjan who is safely considered as an apostle of peace never thought of taking to arms during his life time and it does not look probable that he would advise his son to carry arms at such an initial stage. However, the prediction of Guru Arjan that the next successor on the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak would wear arms seems a greater probability.

As a matter of fact, the torture and execution of Guru Arjan by the orders of Emperor Jahangir put the Sikhs in crucial circumstances under which they thought of resorting to arms. Sources like *Mehma Prakash* and *Gurbilas Padshahi Chbevin* come to our rescue in arriving at exact conclusion in this regard.

It is worth pointing out here the injunction of Guru Nanak emphasising that the rulers should be just:

"Raje Chuli niae Ki"<sup>10</sup>

As a matter of fact, Guru Nanak's God is just and impartial. The Guru had full faith in the justice and omnipotence of the Almighty.

Under specific circumstances created by the execution of Guru Arjan from the hands of a fanatic Mughal Government for the cause of *dharmā*, the Sikhs of the Guru probably felt that they should save their hearths and homes from the unjust and alien rulers and defend the very claims of their consciousness.

Thus, while giving practical shape to the unique synthesis of the spiritual and the temporal and to recommend the cauldron for supply to the poor and the needy and the scimitar for smiting the oppressors, the Guru, as goes the traditions, found it imperative to wear the two swords of *Miri and Piri*<sup>11</sup>- one representing the worldly and the other spiritual symbol. Under the circumstances Guru Hargobind advised Baba Buddha thus "My seli shall be a sword- belt and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette<sup>12</sup>." The tradition of depicting *miri* and *piri* through two swords thus, owes its formal identity to Guru Hargobind. This point may be elaborated here by delving on the ideology of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. Man is divine in essence, his ultimate goal being to satisfy the spiritual aspects of his nature which has a bearing towards the *piri* aspect and the secular activity of an individual living in a certain social order represents the *miri* aspect of his nature.

Sohan Kavi, whose account on Guru Hargobind is the earliest states that the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev having taken place in May 1606 and the rites of *dastarbandi* performed in the month of June, the Guru laid the foundation of *Akal Takht* on a raised platform, already said to be in existence, situated a few hundred yards away from the *Harimandir* in the company of Baba Buddhaji and Bhai Gurdas. The Guru prophesied that it would be a graceful and lofty building one day. Exactly, as it happened, the *Akal Takht* was got constructed and completed in due course of time.

The author of *Gurbilas Padshahi Chbevin* explains that a ceremony was performed when the sixth Guru formally sat on the *Akal Takht*, adopting all the emblems of royalty vis-a-vis, the crest, the hawk, the sword and the umbrella having been styled by the disciples as *sach padshā*. It goes without saying that on the eve of his pontificate which synchronise with the year of the construction of The *Akal Takht* the Guru was in his teens. Albeit, he had received instructions from Baba Buddha in the sacred lore and training in physical exercises.

Besides Sohan Kavi's *Gurbilas*, there is some other evidence of contemporary nature too which suggests the martial interests of Guru Hargobind. Zulfikar Ardistani, in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* writes that

unlike his father and predecessor Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Hargobind adopted warfare, wore swords and kept servants and commenced hunting.<sup>13</sup>

Instructions were imparted to the Sikhs by the Guru by despatching *bukannamas* to them to send him the offering of horses and war equipment at *The Akal Takht*.<sup>14</sup> *Masands* were also asked to collect such offerings from the Sikhs. The Guru recruited 52 strong Sikh young men who volunteered their services and were ready to do and die for the sake of their faith. They thus, formed the nucleus of a sort of perspective army organisation for defensive purposes. Five hundred youth joined the so called army of the Guru from the heart of the Punjab i.e. from Doaba, Majha and Malwa. Equipment of war was provided by the Guru to the entrants in his army though on a small scale.

Physical feats and wrestling competitions were held in the courtyard of the *AW Takht*. Heroic poetry of the Guru was recited at the commencement to keep the morale of the Sikhs high. In order to give a fillip to the mode of living of the Sikhs, the Guru arranged choirs moving at night round the holy *darbar sahib* with the flare of torches and beating of trumpets red ting holy *shabadas* in thrilling tones.

There is every reason to believe that the warlike activities of the Sikhs gave provocation to the Government. Anyhow, a conflict seemed evident sooner or later. The Guru was summoned to the presence of the Emperor Jahangir who interned him to the Fort of Gwalior where certain hilly princes were serving their terms of confinement. Ultimately the Emperor was pleased to release the Guru with 52 rulers.<sup>15</sup>

Having come to terms with the Emperor, Guru Hargobind preached Sikhism in the surrounding area around and even outside the Punjab. He preached the injunctions of Guru Nanak at places like Pilibhit in the East and Kashmir in the North. He is said to have met one holy Muslim Saint Shah Daula who raised his objections to the Guru by saying how could a Hindu be a saint when he had a wife and children and was in possession of temporal wealth. The Guru as goes the tradition responded that a wife was her man's conscience, his children retained his memory and the wealth gave him his sustenance. Guru Hargobind took a number of steps besides those mentioned above for safeguarding the Sikh religion. He put up memorials at the places visited by his predecessors. It was the time when the Guru waged defensive war against the Mughals. The Guru, however, retired to Kiratpur in the hills from A.D. 1634 to 1645 and passed the last decade of his career in preaching the doctrines of Guru Nanak.

During his pontificate, arrangements for conducting continuous and regular service in the Gurdwaras were undertaken. The Guru also got built the town of Kiratpur amidst the natural environs of hills and constructed gurdwaras, mosques and temples at the expense of the *sangats*.

The career of Guru Hargobind has generally been demarcated by historians into three main phases. The first phase pertains to the years from A.D. 1606 to 1627 which period synchronises with the reign of Jahangir when the Guru constructed *Akal Takht* in front of Harimandir for the martial activities of the faithful. During the years A.D. 1628 to 1634, the period of the reign of Shah Jahan, the guru waged war with the Mughals. Then comes the last phase of his career when he settled and preached Sikh doctrines.

Guru Har Rai the grandson of Guru Hargobind succeeded to the spiritual *gaddi* on 8th March, 1644, the latter having expired on 3rd March, 1644. Guru Har Rai spent most of his time in preaching Sikh religion and was able to win a large following. He helped Dara Shikoh in the war of succession against Aurangzeb with the result that after becoming Emperor in A.D. 1658, Aurangzeb summoned the Guru to his court. The Guru did not attend the court of Aurangzeb and instead sent his son Ram Rai. The Emperor showed his resentment against certain alleged remarks pertaining to the Muslims in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Ram Rai however, put off the wrath of the Emperor by satisfying him that there was nothing against Islam. Guru Har Rai resented this and disinherited him from the spiritual seat.

Guru Harkrishan (1656-1664) the minor son of Guru Har Rai assumed the charge of the Sikh brotherhood on 7th October, 1661 when he was only five years of age. He was called to Delhi by Emperor Aurangzeb where he suffered from an attack of small pox which proved fatal and he expired on 30th March, 1664.

Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-1675), the youngest son of Guru Hargobind, born at *Guru-ke-Mahal* in Amritsar on April 1, 1621 succeeded as the ninth master of the Sikh religious order. He was a man of quiet and peaceful proclivity and perhaps it was due to his less worldly attachment that the sixth Guru Hargobind did not appoint him his successor.

The very account of his pontificate reveals his spiritual leanings. On the query of the *sangats* regarding his successor. Guru Harkrishan, his predecessor, while breathing his last in March 1664 simply hinted 'Baba Bakala' which might mean his *Baba* or grandfather living at Bakala, a village about four kilometers to the north of modern Bias railway station to which place the Sikh *sangats* found a number of pretenders who claimed Guruship.

According to *Parchian of Sewa Das*, the *sangats* tried to solve the problem of locating the Guru by following a traditional practice of reading out the *Adi Granth* and depending upon the first word for guidance and for getting a clue concerning the guru; the first word happened to be 'Tega'. The *sangats* then asked Mata Nanaki, the wife of Guru Hargobind if there was any one named as such in their family. The holy mother directed that 'Tega' was the name of her own son who very often remained shut within the four walls of a room at Bakala, busy in his meditation and not caring even *for his meals*. The author of *Parchian* writes:

*Mata Nanki ke sangat keh sunae jo  
Granth ji sau satguru ji ka naam  
pucchea aae hao. Granth ji Guriji  
ka naam Tega keh dia. Koi Sodhi  
tumari kul bikehe Tega bhi hai  
ta mata Nanaki keba Tega tau  
mera beta hai par oh tau mastane  
taur rehta hai Andehri kothri meh  
para hua hai. Kabhu roti leta hai  
kabhu nahin leta na hastaron ki  
surat rakhta hai na nakhwal  
ki surat raakhta hai na ham  
seon kabhun mil baitha hai.  
na bhali buri baat karta hai.<sup>16</sup>*

The *sangats* ultimately traced him out and requested him to take the responsibility of becoming the ninth Nanak as the eighth Guru had nominated him as his successor to which request he agreed to, but after much reluctance of his over indulgence in the worship of God. Another tradition regarding the pontificate of Guru Tegh Bahadur is that by means of his spiritual acumen, he later on satisfied one Makhan Shah, a Labana Sikh who after the death of the eighth Guru was out to discover his successor on the spiritual *gaddi* of Guru Nanak Dev. Whatever may be the excellence of this account, and though it may not stand the test of historical scrutiny yet it leaves little room for doubt that the circumstances took such a shape that an embodiment of spiritual wisdom in the person of Guru Teg Bahadur guided the Sikhs from 1664 to 1675 and acquainted them with the glories of the higher world.

The compositions of Guru Tegh Bahadur go a long way in revealing his spiritual experience and his understanding about the supernal and worldly aspects of life which were, however, in no way a deviation from those of his predecessors. Like them. Guru Tegh Bahadur believed in the existence of one God who is accessible by the grace of true guru. He pointed out that one should recognize the existence of God in one's

body. In *Rag Gauri* the Guru surprisingly remarked that though God's abode is in the human body and He accompanies human beings here, there and everywhere yet the mortals do not contract affection with Him. The Guru stressed that it is useless to search God in the forest. God is omnipresent and abides within us as fragrance exists in the flower and as reflection is in the mirror.

Guru Tegh Bahadur pointed out that the human mind is difficult to control due to its constant association with capricious avarice. The tempestuous rage within us causes all the mental ability to be buried in oblivion and seizes the jewel of divine cognizance but when God becomes compassionate, every contrivance bears good results and so he should ever be remembered.

By the abjuration of flunkeyism and slander one should enshrine His encomium in the mind. Those who contemplate over God and grasp his meditation, cross the ocean of the world and the fear of continual births vanishes.

The Guru felt that after getting rid of desideratum, one is rapt in one's own bliss.

Guru Tegh Bahadur understood that God resides within those who neither believe in praise nor dispraise and who do not suffer from worldly lust and pride, remaining unaffected by pleasure and sorrows irrespective of any consideration for honour and dishonour, denouncing all expectations and desires. Only he upon whom God showers His grace can know this mystery of life and blend with the God as water mingles with water.

The Guru explicitly stated at one place in *Rag Basant* that worldly things like riches, and property are not to accompany man to his destination and only meditation of true God can help. Guru Tegh Bahadur realized that the world is embroiled in its own delectation and none is our friend. The Guru pointed out the conduct of those with whom we are attached. In affluence one is encircled by many but in misfortune all forsake one's company.

On the eve of departure of the soul from the body, even the house wife with whom one is always attached by means of affection, skips away by crying 'spook, spook'. In Guru Tegh Bahadur we find a strong feeling that this world is like an empty dream and by leaving aside evil temptations like pride, temporal love and attraction, one should indulge in His worship which surely leads to the salvation of the soul.

In his compositions the Guru turns time and again to the theme that those to whom appeasement, pain, pleasure, attachment and detachment are alike, can achieve goodness in life. In *Rag Asa*, the Guru emphasised at one place that the ignorant man suffers hardship and pain for the attainment of worldly pleasure. The Guru grasped that the evil faculties of the body can vanish by repeating God's praises. The Guru also believed that he who is neither afraid of anyone nor strikes fear in others is a saint.

To conclude. Guru Tegh Bahadur was an apostle of spiritual ideals who revealed before his disciples the highest truth of life and directed them to avail themselves of the valuable moments by singing the praise of God, by casting away evil practices and by living a truthful living, thereby achieving the salvation of soul.

Guru Tegh Bahadur not only preached his spiritual experiences but also practised what he preached. He voluntarily offered his life for the defence of *dharm* and liberty of worship for which reason he is known as *dharm-di-chadar* or 'the shield of dharma'. He was executed on November 11, 1675<sup>17</sup> at Chandani Chowk, Delhi by the orders of Aurangzeb who had come to adopt an aggressive policy against all non-Muslims as the champion of Sunni Islam. Guru Gobind Singh refers to the martyrdom of his father in the following terms:

God safeguarded his *tilk* and *janju* and he performed a memorable act in the *Kalyuga*, doing so much for the pious men as to lay down his life without a groan. He did this for the sake of *dharm*. He chose to sacrifice his

life rather than to betray God.<sup>18</sup>

“I cherish you as my son and I have created you to extend the Panth”<sup>19</sup> are the lines occurring in the *Bachitar Natak* or the autobiography of Guru Gobind Singh which suggest how the Guru considered it a divine command to build up the decaying nation, to defend the claims of conscience and to serve the cause or righteousness for which he had invincible faith. For the accomplishment of this objective, he instituted the *Khalsa* on the Baisakhi day of A.D. 1699 which signifies the birth day of the Sikh community.

Guru Gobind Singh played such a vital and significant role in Indian history as no one before him even dreamt of. Writings of Guru Gobind Singh go a long way in revealing his captivating and multi-sided personality. He felt that there was a divine sanction behind his actions for which God had sent him to this world, namely, to promulgate *dharmā*, to raise the holy and to cast the evil - doers root and branch.

After his pontificate as the tenth Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh became vigilant to the high responsibility which fell upon his shoulders as a spiritual leader of the community facing large threats to its very survival. The glorious sacrifice of his father who bore decapitation for the sake of a religious cause was before him. He could not also forego the life and activities of his grandfather Guru Hargobind who had to resort to arms to safeguard the faith of Guru Nanak from the acts of omission and commission of the fanatic Mughal Emperor Jahangir.

Guru Gobind Singh visualized that he was to destroy tyranny and injustice root and branch if he was to carry on Guru Nanak's mission of God-realization and to uphold the highest values of life, but the stuff, which he had to deal with, was the rotten society, consisting of chicken-hearted and down-trodden people, suffering from the germs of superstitions, whims, untouchability and inequality. He was to engraft chivalry upon the religious zest and zeal of the disciples. Moreover, he was to put these disciples in a position where the fear of being overshadowed by Islam was eliminated. He was to work for the emancipation of the poor. He was to blunt the edges of Mughal repression which were growing sharper and sharper every day. He was to strike at the very roots of the tyrannical rule and shatter it to pieces. He was to be the saviour of the Hindu religion without being inimical to Islam. Thus, he was to build up Indian nation against heavy odds. It is in this context that he created the *Khalsa* in 1699 but all this was to come from a divine impulse to take up the cause of righteousness. He laid stress on the essentials of religion which ought not be compromised even under duress.

His own experience and those of his immediate predecessors made him realize that there was a real danger of interference from outside. He had then to prepare his disciples to face aggression from whichever quarter it might show its head. After a good deal of thought, he resolved to make the wearing of arms a religious obligation for his followers. This was one of the results of the institution of the *Khalsa*. Armed saint soldiers were created as the claims of inward monitor, the ethical self and moral censor namely the conscience had to be defended, if necessary, with the force of arms.

Tradition holds that the Guru held a great assemblage of his followers at Anandpur on this historic day under a big canopy where Gurdwara Keshgarh Sahib stands today. There, the Guru seems to have delivered a speech defining his divine mission of saving the religion which was in a state of great peril. He talked about religious torture and persecution and the social evils crept into the society of the time, thereby demanding devotees before the flashing sword, willing to offer themselves for the supreme sacrifice as the cause of *dharmā* required sacrificial blood. It is stated that when the five beloved ones presented themselves before the Guru one by one, he stopped his demand and administered the baptism of sword.<sup>20</sup> The Guru vested the authority of initiation of Sikhism to the entire *Panth*. This was an important step towards the ending of the Guruship in person. The Guru pleaded that from onwards only five Sikhs were required to baptise any number of followers to the faith.

After baptizing them, the Guru himself was baptized by them. Guru Gobind Singh positively abolished the distinction between the Guru and the *Panth*. He said that the *Khalsa* was his specific form. He had his dwelling in the *Panth*. Being very near to him, the *Khalsa* was his body and soul.

There is a strong tradition that the Guru prescribed the commonly known five Ks. for his following namely wearing of hair, *Kanga* or small comb, *Kara* or iron bangle, *Kachera* or short drawer and sword. He directed that his followers would abstain from using tobacco,<sup>21</sup> and affix the word “Singh” after their names obviously signifying that they were lions.

Guru Gobind Singh stressed the necessity of baptism of sword and the wearing of arms as a religious obligation because the exigency of the time required it for the very survival of the religious order.

Explaining the impact and scope of baptism of sword, Gordon argued that the dry bones of an oppressed peasantry were stirred into life and the institution of the Sikh baptismal rite at the hands of a few followers anywhere in a place of worship, in the house or by the roadside, brought about the more full-wide-spread development of the new faith. The Sikhs were virtually transformed into a marshal race. They attained confidence in the equality of all human beings eliminating the false pride of caste, creed and race which had gone a long way in tearing the compact society into shreds. The five beloved ones belonging to different quarters in the caste structure drank baptism of sword or *Khande di pabul* from the steel utensil culminating in the unique event of the Guru casting *his very* lot with his disciples by taking *amrit* or nectar from the hands of the beloved ones. It has been rightly said ‘*dban dban Guru Gobind Singh-appe Guru chela*. Receiving its identity from the Guru the *Khalsa* conducted itself with dignity leaving the old caste-taboos, the false rituals and cultivating moral virtues. The guru remarked:

“As long as the *Khalsa* maintains its identity it will retain its *splendours* and grace.”

Thus, the *Khalsa* attained self perfection in the shape of physical valour and remarkable moral strength, there emerged a compact democratic force fully armed to fight for the cause of righteousness.

The use of arms was not a new thing, either for Guru Gobind Singh or his followers even before 1699. Nevertheless, this commandment for the *Khalsa* has to be seen in connection with the Guru’s concept of God. At one place, he addressed God as ‘All steel’. At another place, the Guru makes the idea even more explicit:

The arrow and bow are you, the shield and sword are you. They all achieve salvation who meditate on you.<sup>22</sup>

Here, Guru Gobind Singh attributes ‘might’ to God through the use of the ordinary names of weapons. There is no doubt that he thought of the divine force as the implement of God, justifying the use of physical might in the cause of righteousness. It is significant, therefore, that the *Bachittar Natak* contains the following ideas:

To wear the sword is to absolve oneself of a million sins.<sup>23</sup>

Sainpat, the ‘court poet’ of Guru Gobind Singh, presented the aim of the creation of the *Khalsa* as to destroy the wicked and the sinful and to dissipate all hard knocks. Further, he looked upon the institution of the *Khalsa* essentially and principally as a measure of internal reform. By it, Guru Gobind Singh created a direct link with his disciples, putting an end thereby to the undesirable instrumentality of *masands*. In the words of Sainpat, Masands were eliminated and every one was made a *Khalsa*.<sup>24</sup> The *Khalsa* were asked not to handover their voluntary contributions to the *Masands*. Henceforth, they were to bring their offerings personally to the Guru. Saina Pat’s statement is fully borne out by some of the *bukammamas* or orders of Guru Gobind Singh himself.<sup>25</sup> His denunciation of the *masands* is well known. It is clear that Guru Gobind Singh instituted the *Khalsa* to reaffirm the faith of Guru Nanak and to meet any challenge of interference presented to the Sikh *Panth* which he wanted to strengthen and create thereby a sense of self- sacrifice in the defence of

self conscience.

Even before the institution of the Khalsa in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh had fought battles for the cause of righteousness. In 1688, he fought against the chief of Garhwal on the borders of the Sirmur state. On his return to Anandpur on the borders of the Khalur state, he built fortresses. Around 1690, he personally participated in the battle of Nadaun against the *faujdar*s of the Mughal Government. In early 1690, he strengthened the defence of Anandpur in the face of threatening expeditions under-taken against him by the Mughal commandants.

After the creation of the *Khalsa*, the Sikhs faced the forces of the Mughals and their supporters in the battle fields as an organised and well knit organization of warriors. The *Khalsa* of Guru Gobind Singh met the reactionary forces of the Hill Rajas and the Mughals in numerous battles.

Guru Gobind Singh fought throughout his life against injustice tyranny and social evils with a divine urge. In order to give a finishing touch to the injunction and scheme visualized by Guru Nanak, he knelt on the Baisakhi day of 1699 before the selfless common beloved ones devoted for a purely religious cause irrespective of their castes and received *amrit* or nectar from them. For a mapped out course of action for which the Guru had a resolute determination, he changed the psyche of the masses and transformed their tone and temper. He was successful in this not only because he was an all round genius and a consummate general but also because of the fact that he was able to produce flood of marvellous spirited literature out of his versatile pen. As a matter of fact, the heroic spirit of Guru Gobind runs throughout his writings and the religious literature composed by the Sikh Gurus was upheld by him. Nevertheless, the Guru was a unique personality who raised the down-trodden to the sky high esteems.

Farrukhsiyar was inclined to mash out the Sikhs root and branch who were facing crisis of friction and division. There were mainly two groups namely *Bandbais* and the *Tat Khalsa*. In the year 1721, Bhai Mani Singh was able to settle their differences by means of casting of lots. As a result, the *Bandbais* were immersed in the *Tat Khalsa*.

Zakriya Khan, after succeeding Abdul Samad Khan in A.D. 1726, as the Governor of Lahore, took stringent measures against the Sikhs. The Sikhs had to take resort to forests and hills. Albeit, they maintained themselves inspite of heavy odds. So much so that they defeated the Mughal troops near Bhilowal. However, the Haidari flag raised by the Muslims could not bring the desired results.

Zakariya Khan placated the Sikhs as a last resort but after a short spell of time the Sikh's came out of *the Jungles* and reorganised themselves. The *Dal Khalsa* consisting of two wings namely the Buddha Dal and the Taruna Dal faced the foe bravely. The Sikhs suffered a defeat at the hands of Lakhpat Rai who was deputed by Zakariya Khan to annihilate them. A military post was established at Amritsar by Lakhpat Rai.

Zakariya Khan haunted the Sikhs like beasts. Mani Singh a devoted Sikh of the Guru was martyred in 1738. Bota Singh, Haqiqat Rai, Tara Singh etc. etc. also met the same fate.

Yahiya Khan who succeeded Zakriya Khan in 1745, in his own turn persecuted the Sikhs. The Sikhs suffered a crushing defeat near Basoli Hills which is known as *chbota ghallughara* in Sikh history.

Under the governorship of Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Muin-ul-Mulk generally known as Mir Mannu and Mughalani Begam, the Sikhs were badly tortured and persecuted but remained unsubdued. So much so that the seventh and eighth invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali remained ineffective in subverting the Sikhs mainly due to the endurance and perseverance shown by them to the opposition.

The Mughals and Afghan inroads necessitated for the Sikhs a united front which resulted in the formation of small bands of the *Khalsa* and came to be called *Dal Khalsa* in due course of time. All the Sikh

bands numbering about 65 leagued together under a common leader like Nawab Kapur Singh or Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Ultimately twelve *misl*s were formed roughly during the years 1767 to 1799 and held the whole of the Punjab.

Those *mists* derived their names from the progenitor of the prominent or the very first chief or from the name of his village.

Some writers hold the view that some of the *misl*s do not deserve to be called *misl*s as those were small *deras*. Albeit, as all the *misl*s did not keep their full numerical strength at one time, it is difficult to stick to this view point.

Cunningham suggests the derivation of the term *misl* from the Arabic word *musalubhat* which meant armed men and warlike people.<sup>26</sup> He further suggests that in India *misl* might connote a file of papers or anything serried in ranks. Thus, the term could be implied to the Sikh organisation which maintained the files of their territorial claims at Amritsar at *the Akal Takht*. Wilson observed that *mists were* voluntary associations of the Sikhs.<sup>27</sup> David Ochterlony regards the *misl* as a race or a tribes.<sup>28</sup>

Senapat's *Sri Gur Sobha* is the earliest Sikh literature which gives the connotation of the word *misl*. The first use of this term occurs in the description of the battle of Bhangani. Guru Gobind Singh's horsemen gathered together under their banners at the beat of the war-drum. *Morchas* were set up in the battle field at different places and were allotted to *misl*s or groups. The second reference to this word pertains to the account of the last days of the life of Guru Gobind Singh, when he settled at Nander. Senapat writes that the Sikhs of the Guru went there in *misl*s or groups.<sup>29</sup>

Rattan Singh Bhangu's account also conveys the connotation of the word *misl* in the sense of a group. Albeit, he elucidates the term *misl* in relation to *vabir* and *thanna*. *Misl*s combined together comprised a *thanna* which was a largest group. The leader of the group was called a *Thannawal*. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia is mentioned as *Thannawal* in the second *Ghallughara* of 1762. *Vabir* being the smallest group, ordinarily no leader was attached with it. The above description simply leads us to infer that the *misl* was taken to mean a group. We may say that it is an account of the limitation sources referred heretofore that we have not been able to make an estimate of the strength this group comprised. We are also not sure about the nature of this group i.e., whether the people assembled for the purpose of fighting or otherwise.

Historians differ with regard to the nature of the *misl* organisation as well. Whereas C. H. Payne observes that a *misl* was some sort of a clannish organisation based on strict democratic principles.<sup>30</sup> Others hold that the essential character of the *misl* was the supreme power of its chief who was paramount in peace and war.<sup>31</sup> Some writers lay stress on the religious character of the members of the *misl*s and observe that it was theocratic in nature.<sup>32</sup> Some scholars confer confederate and feudal character upon the *misl*s.<sup>33</sup> Still some discern socialistic and aristocratic character of the *misl*s. As a matter of fact, there prevails a good degree of confusion regarding the organisation of the *misl*s chiefly because no distinction is made between the earlier and later phases of the development of this institution.

We may trace the origin of this institution to the practical needs of the Sikh people in a given political environment. After the demise of Banda Bahadur the *Tat Khalsa* by virtue of its religious discipline and association was confident that they were morally bound to defy the unjust rule of Mughals. In the preliminary stage they created a will power not to submit to the Mughal authority. They made continued efforts to increase their strength and bring about unity in their very ranks. With the increase in number, it became essential to improve the organisation so that they might enhance the striking power of *Khalsa*. As a result of the anxiety of the *Dal Khalsa* to increase the power of resistance and modify the organisation Nawab Kapoor Singh who was held in high esteem organised the *Khalsa* into five groups or *Jathas*.

*Those jathas* were commanded by old veterans. Slowly and steadily the number of *the jathas* multiplied. The *chiefs of these jathas* in the meanwhile enhanced their power of resistance and capacity to defend their organisation. They extended the system of protection or *rakhi* to those who sought for it. The peasants and cultivators were asked to come under the *rakhi* system to safeguard their fields. As there was virtually anarchy in the Punjab from A.D. 1751 to 1762 coupled with civil wars and Afghan invasion, the *Dal Khalsa* sacked various villages, so much so that the residents of different areas in the Punjab found themselves weak and helpless for defending themselves from internal and external disturbances. Resultantly most of them sought refuge under the *rakhi* system. Villages together offered to seek full protection from the chiefs against all sorts of molestation in lieu of which they were to pay revenue in instalments at the time of *Raby* and *Kharif* harvests. The *Dal Khalsa* also commenced receiving some sort of *levi* on merchandise.

As a matter of fact, the administration of the *misl*s was generally the village administration which invariably kept its identity throughout the *misdari* system. The *panchayats* continued their functioning even during the British rule. The period of the *Dal Khalsa* pertaining to the first phase of the *misdari* system as well as the second phase witnessed the proper functioning of the institution of the *panchayats*.

In the first phase of *Misdari* system, the *Khalsa* adopted significant *gurmata*s at Amritsar as a matter of routine as the political situation of the times so demanded. Writers like Ahmed Shah, Bute Shah Batalia, Rattan Singh Bhangu observe that the *Khalsa* took collective decisions at Amritsar. We have many an instances to quote that *gurmata*s were held even outside *Harmandir Sahib* and *Akal Takht*. Rattan Singh Bhangu makes mention of a *gurmatta* adopted by the *Khalsa* against the Afghans of Kasur.<sup>34</sup> A *gurmatta* was adopted by the *Khalsa* at Sirhind.<sup>35</sup> Ganesh Das talks of a *gurmatta* adopted by *Khalsa* in the *pargana* of Sialkot.<sup>36</sup> We come across a variety of situations when *gurmatta*s were adopted at different places, but there is no denial to the fact that most significant *gurmatta*s were adopted at Amritsar. Writers like Polier, Browne Bhangu, Ganesh Das, Gian Singh observe and generally agree that the *gurmatta*s adopted by the *Khalsa* in the 18th century, both in the first and second phases of the *misdari* period related to measures of defence and offence. The political nature of the *gurmatta* is confirmed by Sir John Malcolm in his description of the *gurmatta*s. Malcolm's observation is quite logical when he pleads that the *Khalsa* did not feel any urge to adopt a *gurmatta* when there was no external or internal danger. Since there was no offensive either after 1770, we observe that the *gurmatta*s became a thing of the past. As a matter of fact, such a fate of *the gurmatta* lay in its very nature and scope. To perceive that Ranjit Singh had any hand in putting this institution to end is to misconceive the very nature of the *gurmatta*.

Nevertheless, the conflict of the *Khalsa* with the Mughal authorities and the invasion of the Afghans and their extinction from the soil of the Punjab helped the transition of the position of the *Khalsa* from non-territorial groups into a territorial power. With the acquisition of territories, there came a drastic change in the nature of the *Dal Khalsa*. The internal organisation now witnessed gradation. The Chiefs acquired territories and kept their own army. In the first phase of their organisation, they pooled their resources together. Devotion to Guru Gobind Singh and faith in the striking power of the *Khalsa* was the chief characteristic of the first phase of the *misdari* system. In the second phase, the attitude of defence increased in direct proportion to the enhancing strength of organisation. The disparity in wealth and the geographical position of the territory of a chief introduced extraneous elements in the choice of leadership. There came a check on the internal mobility of the member. The change in loyalty at this stage meant the loss of the individual member. It also became difficult for the members to leave their kith and kin in one *misl* and shift to another *misl*. However, defection from one *sardar* to another was a reality. In due course of time the territorial ambition of the *sardars* became more pronounced and the way was prepared for the liquidation.

In the second phase of *misdari* system when the chiefs acquired territories, the capability to muster arms and the extent of territories went a long way in determining the strength of a chief. The chiefs enhanced their political strength by multiple ways which included convenient matrimonial alliances, ceremonial exchange of turbans, etc. In this second phase, the *sardar* of the *misl* was a sort of mini sovereign and

independent in the internal administration. Notwithstanding his absolute authority, the *sardar* did not interfere in the day to day affairs of the *misl*. In case the *misdars* initiated any joint adventure, the booty was divided among themselves after the victory on the basis of their strength in action. It was further subdivided among the members of the *misl*. The description given by George Thomas defining the position of the *sardars* actually relates to the second phase of the *misdari* system, when the *sardar* was the lord paramount, quite contrary to his position in the first phase, when he was merely a companion and a leader of the members of the *misl*. The account of George Thomas definitely depicts the position of the *sardar* when he had acquired the territories.

Within his domain, each chief is lord paramount. He exerts a exclusive authority.<sup>37</sup>

Henry T. Prinsep has given a number of tenures, which throw useful light on the working of *misdari* system. These tenures are *misdari*, *pattidari*, *tabadari*, and *jagirdari*. In fact, every member in the *misdari* system who was an associate in the *misl* was a *pattidar* who was graded in less rank than a *sardar* down even to single horseman. He equipped and mounted himself and regulated entirely the management of a *patti*. In case a *royt* of an allotment in a *misl* complained against anything, a reference was made to the *sarkarda*. In case his decision did not satisfy the applicant, an appeal might be made to the *sardar*. Ordinarily, friends and relatives were collected to seek a prompt self- redress. The *pattidar* could legitimately dispose off his tenure to a stranger. However, he could mortgage it for the satisfaction of his requirements. He could write a will as to which of his male relations could settle on his possession. Mutual protection and defence was the main relation of reciprocal nature between a *sardar* and *pattidar*. This reciprocal relation was the only term and condition of his tenure.<sup>38</sup>

It was a custom that bodies of inferior strength or petty chief with their men attached themselves sometime to a *misl*. The condition of their association was not, however, subscribed. The land assigned to them was regarded as a free reward for their co-operation. They were not considered as dependents and the tenure known as *misdari*. A *misdar* could transfer his possession and service if he was not satisfied with a particular *sardar*. Albeit, it involved serious consequences.

A *tabadar* was a sort of a retainer. The lands given to him as a reward were subject to forfeiture in the case of disobedience, rebellion or displeasure of the *sardar*.

The next tenure was known as *jagirdari* tenure. *Jagirs* were granted to the needy relations, dependents and deserving soldiers on the basis of service they rendered to the chiefs with their contingence who were equipped and mounted at their own expense depending upon the extent of the grant. The *tabadari* and *jagirdari* grants were subject to the pleasure of the *sardar* though these were of hereditary nature.

As regards the religious and charitable grants made to Sodhis, Bedis and to temples, *gurdwaras*, mosques and even to Muslim *pirzadas*, all India pattern was followed.

It goes without saying that in the *misdari* set up, there was no upto date judiciary system. The dispensation of justice depended mainly on the old customs and traditions. Sacred scriptures also helped in this direction. In the absence of any definite code of law, those who dispensed justice enjoyed discretionary powers.

The concept of justice was entirely different from our own days. Justice was considered as source of income. The plaintiff was generally to pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the value of the article stolen and some *nazrana* also. A person accused in any case was to pay *jurmana* or a fine. He was also to pay the gratitude money in shape of *shukrana*. In the case of a prolonged suit and some settlement, he was supposed to pay *tai-kehana*.<sup>39</sup>

Village was the basis of administration and the *panchayat* was an institution which administered justice among the villagers. The main stress was laid on the reconciliation of the two parties. The court of the chief

or the *sardar* was graded as first and above the *panchayat*. The courts dealt with civil and criminal cases of all kinds and resorted to punishments, fines, mutilation of limbs, internments, etc. Death punishment was hardly known. As regards the cases pertaining to religion or the personal affairs of the chief of the *misl*, *gurmattas* were adopted by the *Sarbat Khalsa*. The practice of *gaba* was also in force. It was a sort of self redress system. In such cases the aggrieved party was supposed to have right to compensate itself, by inflicting loss or injury to the opposite party.

The religious fervour compensated each and every discrepancy found in the *misl* army. Guerilla warfare was the common mode of fighting. Rattan Singh Bhangu has referred to *dhai pats* of war. Approaching the enemy was considered as one step, to come back from him safely was the other step and to kill him or to inflict injury upon him was considered only a half step of the war.<sup>40</sup> The guerilla warfare was resorted to mainly because the *misl* could not afford to give a pitched fight to the enemy due to lack of equipment and numerical strength of the army.

The bows, arrows and few matchlocks were the weapons used by the cavalry. Albeit, powder was scarcely in demand and the Sikh soldiers discarded it chiefly because they found it difficult and uneasy to handle a musket.

The Sikh troops were disarranged and disorganized. Though they were very bold yet they were ignorant at warfare as an art. Regular supply system was not in vogue. They were not conversant with drill, uniform, and strategical manoeuvres. As a matter of fact, there was no infantry and virtually no artillery, no discipline and no systematic organisation.

Prior to Ranjit Singh, the saddle was the residence of the *Khalsa* for generations together. The soldiers fought under their chiefs and all that a Sikh chief demanded from a follower was a horse and a matchlock and all that a follower sought was protection and the necessary permission for collecting the booty. They had a very strange mode of fighting. According to Forster,

...a party, from forty to fifty would advance in quick pace to the distance of a carbine-shot from the enemy and then, that the fire may be given with the greater certainty; the horses were drawn up, and their pieces discharged; when speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load and repeated the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation, that, on receiving a stroke of the hand, they stop from a full career.<sup>41</sup>

An idea of the cavalry of the Sikhs can be had from the *Memoris of George Thomas* who in response to Lord Wellesley's query to supply him an account of the State of the Punjab wrote about the Sikh cavalry:

When mounted on horse-back their black flowing locks, and half-naked bodies, which formed in the stoutest and most athletic mould, the glittering of their arms, and the size and speed of their horses, render their appearance imposing and formidable, and superior to meet most of the cavalry in Hindostan.<sup>42</sup>



## References

1. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, Var 1. *Pauri* 29.
2. *Ibid.*, Var 1, *Pauri* 27.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Bhai Gurdas, *op. cit.*, Var 1, *Pauri* 30.
5. *Cf. Ibid.*, *Pauri* 32.
6. Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 31-32.
7. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Bombay, Calcutta etc. 1950, p.25.
8. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Makbizi-e-Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, Amritsar, 1949, p.5.
9. Sohan Kavi, *Sri Gurbilas Patshahi Chhevin*, Amritsar, 1928, p. 150 states:  
*hukamnaven din dutia likhae*  
*Sri Gur desan des pathae*  
*bachan ya mein likae*  
*bbet shastar hai line.*
10. Guru Arjan, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (compiled in A.D. 1604), Amritsar, n.d., P.1240.
11. Sohan Kavi, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Cf. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion : Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1963, pp. 1-240.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Mohsin Fani, "Dabistan-i-Muzahib", *Makbizi-e-Tawarikh-i-Sikhan* (1644), Amritsar, 1949, pp. 31-32.
14. Sohan Kavi, *op.cit.*, pp. 150-51.
15. Cf. Mohsin Fani, *op.cit.*, p. 38
16. *Parchian Sewa Das*, Patiala, 1962, pp. 82-83.
17. *Makbizi...*, p.6.
18. *Guru Gobind Singh, Bachitar Natak*, p. 46; Macauliffe, *op.cit.*, Vol.V, p. 295.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Koer Singh, *Gurbilas Padshahi DOS*, p. 128.
21. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha* (ed. Ganda Singh), Patiala, 1967, p 115.
22. *Guru Gobind Singh, Dasam Granth*, p. 717.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
24. Sainapat, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-24.
25. See for instance *Hukamnama No. 59, Hukamname* (ed. Ganda Singh), Patiala, 1967.
26. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of Sutlej*, London, 1849, f.n.114.
27. Wilson "Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs" *A Symposium*, Calcutta, 1958, p.61.
28. Sir David Ochterlony to Government of India, 30th December, 1809, quoted by J.D. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 115.
29. Sainapat, *op.cit.*, pp. 9, 124.
30. C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Edinburgh etc. n.d., pp.9, 60.
31. James Brown, "History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs," *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1962, p.14.
32. J.D. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
33. Henry T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power...*, Patiala, 1970, p. 23.
34. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), Amritsar, 1962, p.389.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 405,407.
36. *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab* (ed. Kirpal Singh), Amritsar, 1965, pp. 126-27.
37. James Brown, *op. cit.*, p.14.
38. H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-28.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *op.cit.*, p. 218.
41. Forster, *A Journey From Bengal to England*, Vol.1, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p.332.
42. Grey and Garrett, *European Adventurers of Northern India*, 1785 to 1849, Lahore, pp. 48, 51.

## Chapter II

### Formation of Forces: New Orientation

Providence could only know that the structure of army evolved by the chiefs of the *misl*s in the 18th century would turn over a new leaf by way of new orientation of the army with the advent of Ranjit Singh on the scene of the Punjab. However, the emergence of monarchy from the *misdari* system of the government was well prophesied by George Forster when he wrote:<sup>1</sup>

In the defence and the recovery of their country, the Sicques displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind, and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bear an ample testimony of native resource, when the common danger had roused them to action, and gave one impulse to their spirit. Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sicques to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of associates, display, from the ruins of their commonwealth, the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with the like effects, springing from the like causes. Under such a form of government, I have little hesitation in saying that the Sicques would be soon advanced to the first rank amongst the native princes of the Hindostan; and would become terror to the surrounding states.

In order to convert his dream of establishing a strong and United Kingdom in Punjab under his banner, Ranjit Singh made a determined effort to bring a revolutionary change in the perspective of warfare and to give his army a new orientation by western experts with his usual wisdom, foresight and sagacity. The Maharaja put the best resources of his kingdom to bring about varied reforms in the distinct structure of the army. He could well see that the British artillery was making grand achievements by means of winning brilliant victories in India and to give at least a strong defensive in the time of need, the formation of a formidable army was an utmost necessity. This project was successfully completed by him appointing western experts like Gardner, Court. Ventura, Allard, etc. With the regular guidance and practical training imparted by those personnels, the Maharaja ensured efficiency of his troops and slowly and steadily changed the very structure of his army into an engine of maximum capability. Of course, the religious fervour compensated each and every discrepancy found in the composite army of the Maharaja. With the new orientation, the Maharaja possessed 40,000 efficient foot soldiers, about 12,000 horsemen, and an excellent unit of artillery which could rightly claim a comparison with the army of the East India Company. Thus, the Maharaja built up a very efficient centralized military system by dint of his ability to amalgamate the best in the indigenous fighting mechanism with the best found in the West.

As a matter of fact, during the fag end of the 18th century the Indian potentates met with novel experience in the strategy of warfare. They witnessed the British artillery and trained infantry invariably wroughting havoc in the battlefields making the cavalry branch of the army quite of date and a helpless device in the face of a steady fire out of the muskets. Indian princes of the cadre and status of Tipu Sultan and Mahadaji Sindhia found it quite imperative to awaken from deep slumber and commenced imparting training to their soldiers on western lines. The Maharaja, who besides some other reasons, was quite apprehensive of the concerns of the British across the Satluj, was in no way an exception in perceiving the merits of a trained infantry and good artillery and remodelling his army on the Western lines. Having been brought up in the military tradition of his race, the Maharaja revolutionalised the three branches of his army, namely infantry, cavalry and artillery, and integrated all the three wings into a united whole. As a matter of fact, a sort of confusion is witnessed in the description of the army of the Maharaja mainly because the irregular and regular infantry and cavalry have not been dealt with separately. It will be quite logical to trace the growth of regular and irregular army in uniform and segregated manner. It will, we rightly presume, be more logical to base the account on the *Khalsa Darbar Record* and the pay rolls of the troops year-wise to have a clear cut idea of evolution of the army with a time sense. It will be quite in the fitness of things to delineate the observations of Griffin different regarding the infantry prior to the introduction of reforms of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He states:

In the beginning the infantry soldier was considered altogether inferior to the cavalry and was, in the time of war, left behind to garrison forts to look after the women, or to follow the fighting place, until he, in his own turn could afford to change his status and buy or steal a horse for his own use.

The infantry of the Maharaja was divided into two divisions namely the irregulars and the regular infantry. The Maharaja organised the irregulars in battalions, each one consisting of approximately one thousand foot soldiers and made the provisions of arms to them on the pattern of other branches of the army. The wonderful change lay in the fact that contrary to the previous practice the infantry soldiers were expected to fight very confidentially in the battlefield with grand achievements to their credit. The fact remains that the Maharaja was not keen enough to bear the expenses of this force throughout all the months of a year and hence this force, unless the Maharaja stopped recruitment in this wing, remained a temporary wing of the regular establishment. The more the number increased in the passage of time the more increase in the regular foot soldiers was witnessed in the preceding years.

The Maharaja gradually increased the number of irregular infantry in quite proportion to the rise in the strength of troops to be deployed in the expeditions. Notwithstanding the job of fighting assigned to this branch of the army, irregulars continued to garrison the forts and protecting the women folk and children. The *Khalsa Darbar Record* gives the strength of the *Sipah-i-piyadah* to about nine thousands foot soldiers in 1821 in comparison to five thousand soldiers in 1818.

On the basis of this very source of *Khalsa Darbar Record*, we may say with certainty that the number of irregulars was further enhanced during the years 1822-1831, as there was considerable increase in the number of territory. Murray gives rough and ready estimate of the numbers of irregulars in the years 1831 as 23950 on the basis of the pay rolls given in the *Khalsa Darbar Record*. We may safely say that the number of irregulars did not witness any change during the years 1832-1839.

As far as regular infantry of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is concerned, the infantry soldiers were given training, drill and uniform. We may safely presume on the basis of the data available on this day that after concluding the Treaty of Amritsar, the Maharaja was fully determined to have trained and disciplined infantry. Some writers observe that he inspected the British troops under the command of Lord Lake in Year 1805 and was profoundly impressed by its performance. The Maharaja is said to have appreciated the drill and discipline of Metcalfe's small escort in 1809<sup>2</sup>. The Maharaja began after that period to divert his attention to the formation of regular infantry. In the year 1812, David Ochterlony witnessed two regiments of Sikhs drilled by men who had resigned or deserted the British service.<sup>3</sup> In 1813, the Maharaja talked of raising twenty five battalions.<sup>4</sup> We have the concrete evidence of *Khalsa Darbar Record* which depicts the pay rolls of the infantry men and leads us to the conclusion that Maharaja Ranjit Singh raised battalions on the pattern of Western troops which led the Sikhs to realise the value of this wing of the army.<sup>5</sup> According to the catalogue of the *Khalsa Darbar Records*, an infantry battalion was made the administrative unit. It consisted of about 900 foot soldiers of very healthy get up. A *kumedan* was the incharge of the battalion. Next to the *kumedan* was the Adjutant and Major in the organisation of roughly 100 soldiers in each unit. The important officers of the company included subahdar, jamadar, sargeant, havaldar, naik, trumpeteer, bugler etc. The camp followers of a battalion comprised of water carriers, flag bearers, camel drivers, cooks, masons, *baildars*, spademen, etc. In its turn the company again had divisions; each division had four sections consisting of 25 foot men under the command of a *Havildar*. Next to the *Havildar*, the company was administered by an officer of the rank and file of *Naik*.<sup>6</sup> There was a system of day to day checking of the recruits by way of the preparation of the regimental accounts got ready by the *munshis*. Each and every regiment maintained a *granthi* and *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred scripture. The regimental officers included kumedan, adjutant, major, writer, accountant etc.<sup>7</sup> The pay rolls of the *Khalsa Darbar Record* give us a clear idea of the salaries of the battalion. A General received a handsome amount of four hundred rupees as a minimum salary in those days, whereas a colonel's remuneration varied from three hundred rupees to three hundred fifty, a subedar, a major and a *jamadar* received rupees thirty, twenty-five and rupees twenty two respectively. The salary of an ordinary

sepoys varied from rupees seven to rupees eight and a half per mensem.

The years 1799-1821 witnessed a herculean effort from the Maharaja to improve the regular infantry. Though the progress was very slow in the beginning yet the efforts were continued and during the last decade of this period an appreciable change is witnessed in almost all aspects of the army organisation. This change figures more prominently in strength and composition of the different wings. The year-wise strength of the regular infantry is given below:<sup>8</sup>

<b>Year</b>	<b>Strength</b>
1811	9 Battalions and 10 companies
1812	8 Battalions and 12 companies
1813	8 Battalions
1814	12 Battalions
1819-20	13 Battalions
1821-22	14 Battalions

After the year 1832, we witness a considerable growth in the strength of the battalions and companies raised by the Maharaja.<sup>9</sup>

1833-35	22 Battalions
1835-36	26 Battalions and miscellaneous companies
1836-37	28 Battalions and the above noted companies
1837-38	29 Battalions and the above noted companies
1838-39	31 Battalions and the above noted companies

The names of various paltans of the infantry raised by Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the years 1820 to 1831-32 can be had from the pay rolls of the infantry:

*Paltan* Dhaunkal Singh, *Paltan* Maha Singh, *Paltan* Bapu Amir Singh; *Paltan* Shekh Baswan, *Paltan* Ranbir Singh, *Paltan* Abdullah; *Paltan* Najaf; *Paltan* Bakhtwar Khan; *Paltan* Balwant Singh, *Paltan* Gulab Singh, *Paltan* Aziz Khan, *Paltan* Mehtab Singh.<sup>10</sup>

The enrolment was voluntary because the service was popular and the battalions and companies raised comprised of the pick of the youth of land of five rivers. At the time of the selection, a particular attention was paid to the point that the well-built and handsome young men were chosen. General Ventura who was an Italian General and had the proud privilege of fighting under Napoleon Banaparte was appointed as the incharge of the infantry.

Cunningham who has given an intensive account of the Sikhs holds that the superiority and courage of the Sikh troops were more due to the personal factor than on account of the instructions imparted to them by the European Generals. He explains, "In the year 1822 the French Generals, Ventura and Allard, reached Lahore by way of Persia and Afghanistan, and after some little hesitation, they were employed and treated with distinction. It has been usual to attribute the superiority of the Sikh army to the labours of those two officers and of their subsequent coadjutors, the Generals Court and Avitabile, but, in truth, the Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier to his own hardiness of character, to that spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny implanted in him by his great teachers... Neither did Generals Ventura and Allard, Court and Avitabile ever assume to themselves the merit of having created the Sikh army, and perhaps their ability and independence of character added more to the general belief in European superiority, than all their instructions to the real efficiency of the Sikhs as soldiers."<sup>11</sup> Steinbach argues that the distance from Lahore to Peshawar was 300 miles which was often been done by the infantry soldiers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in eleven days. The Sikhs had indeed, acquired, from their remarkable pedestrian qualities, the epithet of iron legged.<sup>12</sup>

Cunningham argues that the European generals enlisted by the Maharaja in the native army give a “moderate degree of precision and completeness to a system already introduced, but their labours are more conspicuous in French words of commands”. It is said that in the preliminary stage, the soldiers did not like the strict discipline and drill introduced by the Maharaja on the pattern of European army and turned it as *rüks-i-loolan*. Albeit, the personal interest and attention of the Maharaja to the all round progress of the infantry, incentives in the shape of good pay, good equipment good dress, plenty of gifts and grant of lavish *jagirs* were given to the infantry. Sohan Lal Suri writes that the Maharaja personally attended the parades of the infantry, cash money, and stipends attracted many a son of the *sardars* of those times to the infantry which was officered by men of all the chief faiths, sects and races namely the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Rajputs and the Europeans. The over all results of efforts put in by the state connected the poor infantry of the *misl* days to the highest status and glory in the shape of a standing national army regularly paid from the treasury and patronised by the State. The Westerners mostly appreciate Maharaja’s infantry with the words that it was capable of bearing the fatigue of long marches for days together and earned the applause that the Punjabis possessed crow legs.’ As a matter of fact, the infantry played significant roll in the Anglo-Sikh wars which was expected from the artillery. The *Fauj-i-Khas*, the conspicuous gem of Ranjit Singh’s army had the proud privilege of the infantry as a part and parcel of it.

Before the setting-up of the monarchy by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs were acquainted with the use of heavy pieces of artillery. They could use only small guns with ease and the main emphasis was on the cavalry which was considered as the only effective mode of fighting. Right from the very beginning of his career, the Maharaja having been deeply impressed by the European artillery service, took keen interest in building up a very powerful artillery force. Ranjit Singh’s craze for artillery is reflected from the statement of Metcalfe also, who wrote in 1808. “The Raja’s attachment to guns and his opinion of their weight are both so great that he will never miss an opportunity of obtaining a gun. If he hears that there is a gun in any fort, he cannot rest until he has taken the fort to get at the gun or until the gun has been given up to him to save the fort. He immediately dismounts the gun from the walls and drags it after him as an addition to his field train. He boasted to me once that he had made the Raja of Putealh give him a fine gun which the Raja wished to rescue for twenty thousand rupees.”<sup>13</sup>

The basic problem that Maharaja faced was that the native soldiers did not show any inclination towards using the artillery, whereas they worked wonders in cavalry service. But the fact remains that very recently they had shattered their faith in the bow and the spear and had taken resort to the use of matchlock. It was after a good deal of persuasion that the Maharaja succeeded in getting his troops ready for a trained artillery service, which comprised of non Punjabis, mostly the Purbias. Albeit, this could be achieved with the employment of military personnels from the West on handsome salaries. The Europeans, indeed, laboured much for instructing the native soldiers and bringing them upto their mark. The regular ordinance department was pressed into service under the command of Generals Court and Gardner who joined the service of the Maharaja in the years 1827 and 1832 respectively. Lieutenant Barr is all full of praise for General Court when he writes in 1839: “When it is considered that we all saw the work of General’s own knowledge and we reflect on the difficulties he has had to surmount, it is a matter almost of wonder to behold the perfection to which he has brought the artillery.”

The artillery branch of Maharaj’s army has also been analysed by writers who have registered a general praise. Osborne comments: “After going down the line of infantry we crossed the river with Ranjit Singh in order to inspect the artillery, which we found drawn up on the opposite bank. It consisted of a battery of 53 horse artillery, 9 pounders, cast in brass, in his own foundry at Lahore, from the patterns of those presented to him by Lord William Bentinck. The only discreditable part of his artillery in appearance is the harness which is patched and shabby, but the horses though small, appear to be active and in very tolerable condition. He is very proud of the efficiency and admirable condition of his artillery, and justly so far no native power has yet possessed so large and well disciplined a corps.”

The Maharaja virtually possessed little artillery in 1799 with the exception of a few *zamburaks*, light field guns and about 100 camel swivels. A regular department of *topkhana* was set up in 1804 and from henceforth this department began to figure in manufacturing of guns and ammunition. Ordnance factories were, of course, established by 1807 in Amritsar, Lahore, Kotli Loharana, Sri Nagar, Kashmir, Jammu, and Multan. Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia was an original inventor of guns and ammunition. Ordnance was very much modified by him and a good quality of guns were cast by him. Lahore fort figured among the places where guns were cast. It is very interesting to note that the guns were given new and novel names which from the very outset enhanced the very prestige of the guns. As a matter of fact the names were high sounding and impressive as *Jang-i-Bijli*. Certain guns like the Mughal guns had Persian inscriptions inscribed on them. The work of casting, polishing and boring of guns was done under the supervision of officers like Dr Honigberger, Fakir brothers and certain European officers. Besides those factories, the Maharaja imported artillery from Delhi, mainly for two purposes, first to improve the quality and second to meet the growing requirement. Many a Hindustani artillery men earned their name and fame by working in ordnance factories. Maharaja Ranjit Singh followed the method of general inspections of all the three wings of the army, namely, the infantry, the artillery and the cavalry. Prinsep refers to an inspection of two pieces of horse-driven cannons on 22 December, 1810. It is worth mentioning here that in 1811 horse-driven artillery was segregated from the main *topkhana* as an independent unit, and Mir Muzahar Ali Beg was appointed its first commandant.

As has been pointed out before, the *misdari* cavalry before Ranjit Singh suited to the exigency of time. The *Dal Khalsa* at times lived in jungles during the persecution days and its main stay was on horse backs. Traditions tell us that the death of a horse was greatly mourned in those days as the horse was considered indispensable. The horses were trained to such an extent that those gave a very quick response to the stroke of heel, voice and touch. The position of a horseman was determined from the condition of his horse. The period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule witnessed far reaching changes rightly from the year 1799 to 1839, the year of the death of the Maharaja. The cavalry under Maharaja Ranjit Singh formed three major divisions

- Regular cavalry
- Irregular cavalry,
- Jagirdari Fauj

It is generally believed that the strength of regular cavalry in the year 1811 was 1209. In 1819-20 it was divided into three main regiments namely Gurmukh Singh Rajman, Mehtam Singh Rajman and Hira Singh Rajman. It goes without saying that these regiments were not uniform in size.

Regular cavalry was at a time kept under Jean Francis Allard, a French General who was appointed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in year 1822. After which period this branch of the army made significant progress.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that the strength of this branch of the army increased four fold after the joining of General Allard. The General besides raising the strength familiarised the native troops with certain new innovations and discipline on the pattern of European cavalry. The first Dragoon was raised in the very 1st year of the General's joining the regular cavalry. The second Dragoon was, however, raised in the next year. As a matter of fact this branch of the army of the Maharaja witnessed an all round growth. It reached its climax in 1828-29 when there were full eight regiments. By this time the regular cavalry had considerably improved by way of its strength, quality and its overall position. According to the *Khalsa Darbar Record* the strength of the regular cavalry stood at 4345 men. The monthly pay of these soldiers stood at Rs. 1, 03/970.<sup>15</sup> Baron Charles Hugel observes that because of irregularity of payment of remuneration to the soldiers, there commenced desertion and resentment among them after this period. There is seen an increase of 4090 soldiers from the years 1833-34 to 1838-39.<sup>16</sup> Comparative cost line was the major reason behind the slow progress. The strength of a regiment was increased in comparison to the previous years. Some of the particulars of a few regiments are enumerated here for understanding the situation:

*Monthly Expenditure*

Dragoon Regiment- 770 Men  
Lancers Regiment- 293 Men

Rs. 18, 408  
Rs. 6864<sup>17</sup>

The *Khalsa Darbar Records* reveal that the regular cavalry of the Maharaja which underwent a drastic change proved to be an asset for offensive and defensive measures.

Whereas the strength of regular cavalry was 1,209, in 1811, it was 4,090 in 1838.<sup>18</sup> The *Ghorcharah fauj* and the *Jagirdari* cavalry were not imparted any regular training on the pattern of a regular cavalry. The principles of modern organisation were not meaningful for those wings of the cavalry. No prescribed rules or strict discipline was enforced on it. These wings resembled with the horsemen of the *misdari* days who had a full faith on the cavalry charge. The Maharaja paid *ghorcharahs* directly from the state treasury though in the beginning they were paid through *jagirs*. The state made available the horse and equipment if the soldier at the time of entrance to service was unable to bring the horse. In that case he was expected to return the price of the horse from his pay later on in easy instalments. The *Khalsa Darbar Record* depicts that the usual deduction from the pay of the soldiers was Rs. 100 for the soldiers and Rs. 10 for the sword. Of course, for a matchlock, the soldier had to deduct a sum of rupees 16 to 20. The price of the matchlock varied as it depended upon the quality of the gun but Rs. 100 was a fixed amount to be deducted from the salary of a horseman in case he received the horse from the state because a lean horse was discarded and rejected for service. There were two categories of the *ghorcharah fauj* namely *Ghorcharah Khas* and the *Misdari Sowars*. There was only one regiment of *Ghorcharah Khas* which comprised the sons of the nobles of the state. The *misdari sowars* originally owed their over lordship from the old *misl sardars* but owing to the diminishing of the principalities, their service had been transferred to the state.

The *Jagirdari* cavalry comprised of the soldiers provided by certain *sardars* who had obtained *jagirs* for different purposes from the Maharaja. In the beginning *the jagirdars* bore the expenses of a part of the irregular cavalry but slowly and steadily the number of soldiers in regular cavalry was enhanced and more concentration was provided towards improvement of regular cavalry. However, the *jagirdari* cavalry was a prominent political institution of the state. Quite logically, with the increase in the acquisition of the territories by the Maharaja, the *Jagirdari* system was enlarged as the conquered territory was continued to be distributed proportionately among the *jagirdars*. Those *jagirs* were sanctioned for a specific tenure and for specific term. Those were, of course, governed by deeds. Under the system, the *jagirdar* had to supply a stipulated strength of horsemen and horses for meeting any exigency and eventuality. The value of *the jagir* determined the number of horses and the horsemen to be provided by *the jagirdar*. As the Maharaja was himself a product of old traditions of the soil, he relied less on the *jagirdars*. Anyhow, *the jagirdar* was required to present for inspection his troops. *The jagirs* sanctioned were subject to the law of escheat on the pattern of Mughal administration and were resumed on the eve of the death of *the jagirdar*. A subsidy was duly provided to the heir of the deceased. *The jagirs* were more or less invariably resumed even in the case of members of the royal blood and the prominent dignitaries like General Hari Singh Nalwa.

As a matter of practice, the *jagirdar* maintained and supplied only the horsemen and the horses. Albeit, the contingent of a *jagirdar* comprised all the three arms of the infantry, cavalry and artillery. The system of vassalage prevailed in the kingdom. The big *jagirdars* made substantial grants of *jagirs* to their feudatories on the similar condition of service. Supplementary cash grants were given to *the jagirdars* for the maintenance of troops in emergency. We see that the Maharaja enhanced *the jagirdari* force from the year 1809 when the troops were only 15,000 in number and at a time they reached the estimated strength of 20,000. However, there is a divergence of opinions regarding the total strength of the *jagirdari* force. There is a unanimous opinion that *the jagirdari*, cavalry has left a legacy in the history of the irregular force of the Maharaja

There was a severe criticism regarding the state of cavalry of the Maharaja. Whereas some have applauded the cavalry, others have spoken otherwise. To our own observance, we will be near the truth if we

rely on the statement of Lord Auckland who visited Amritsar in December 1838 and had a glance on the cavalry of the Maharaja:

Horsemen innumerable, with their metal caps, horses like plumes and silk dresses, the most picturesque troops in the world-their forming up on about four miles and a half in length was beautiful.<sup>19</sup>

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as a matter of policy, granted jagirs to the maximum number of dispossessed chiefs and their subordinates. Different *jagirs* were granted on different occasions namely there were civil and military *jagirs* and hereditary *jagirs*. Those jagirs could be categorised as service *jagirs* subsistence *jagirs*, *inam jagirs* and the *pattidari* holdings. No *jagirdar* had permanent right on the assignment. The *jagirdar* was not expected to acquire proprietary rights. He, of course, could demand the revenue assessed by the state and could also alienate assignment from his own *jagir*. He also enjoyed the privilege of enforcing levy on goods passing through his territories. The policy of transfer of *jagirs* helped in the cohesion of the kingdom.

The *jagirdar* could employ his own *de-man* to manage the affairs of his *jagir* and could live elsewhere far from the *jagir*. There was a practice prevalent that the affairs of the *big jagirs* were administered by the relatives of *the jagirdar*.

Both in civil and criminal cases, large judicial powers and privileges were enjoyed by *the jagirdar*. It goes without saying that *the jagir* was a state within the state. The *raison d'être* of the service *jagir* was, of course, to supply the service *jagir*, albeit, he was expected to serve the kingdom in ways more than one. There are usual precedents of the members of royal blood getting the nominal command of certain expeditions. Albeit, commanders of the campaigns were often selected from amongst the *jagirdars*.

News-agents were appointed in *the jagirs* to report about the occurrence of day to day events invariably. There was a regular check on the absolute authority of a *jagirdar* by setting up a parallel system of administration so that the inhabitants of *the jagirs* might not suffer.

We may very safely presume that *the jagirdar* ensured the good condition of their contingents chiefly because on the very condition of their cavalry depended their future i.e. the enhancement of the *jagir* and its renewal or its withdrawal. It goes without saying that the battles fought by the Maharaja for the acquisition of territories in the far flung areas and the achievements therein prove beyond doubt that the Maharaja possessed an efficient cavalry force which was quite upto the mark. The two Anglo-Sikh wars fought after the demise of the Maharaja confirm this observation. The regiment of the *Akalis* who fought with religious fervour can be easily compared in many a respect with the Muslims of Afghanistan. There are many a tale available which reflect that they had no inclination for army discipline as a result of which they preferred old mode of war- fare. The pages of history stand witness to the fact that the reckless courage and religious zeal of the *Akalis* proved a great asset to the Maharaja when they fought desperately in terrible North-West-Frontier campaigns. *Some Akalis* like Phula Singh and Sadha Singh are well known for their fearlessness and bravery shown in the Frontier territories.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh gave an elaborate treatment to the administrative units of irregular cavalry. The cavalry was organised into various *Derabs*. Each and every *Derab* comprised a number of groups of different strength. This strength of course, varied from 20 to 80 *sowars*. Some of the *Derabs* which were raised between the years 1799-1821 on more or less western line included *Derab Moolrajia*, *Derab*, Sham Singh Attariwala, *Derab Sandhanwalia*, *Derab Gurmukh Singh Lamba* and *Derab Ramgarhia*. By 1822, Maharaja Ranjit Singh amalgamated most of the smaller *Derabs* into bigger *Derabs*. *Derab Khas* and *Derab Ardalyan* are the examples of the *Derabs* of higher numerical strength. Important officers of these *Derabs* are worth mentioning here vis-a-vis Raja Suchet Singh Sandanwalia, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia, and Miser Diwan Chand. Periodical inspection made the *Derabs* efficient units of irregular cavalry because the weak and lean horses and incapable persons were eliminated from the scene. *Derab Naulakha* and *Derab Khas* were the models of the reforms introduced by the Maharaja in the irregular cavalry.

The *Derab Khas* was placed under the command of Raja Hira Singh in year 1836. Its strength was raised to 5 companies consisting of 723 men. A regiment was formed out in the year 1839, about eight *Derabs* of *misdars* were amalgamated to it in order to keep it in a fighting and elevated mood. Its strength was enhanced to 1377 troopers and their total salary amounted to Rs. 4, 41, 392.

A certain number of troopers were joined together enmasse under the command of Raja Suchet Singh and a *zamburkhana* was attached to it in order to increase its fighting capacity as was done in the case of many other *Derabs*. This *Derab* came to be called *Derab Charyari*. In 1822, certain more companies raised were attached with this *Derab*. Raja Kasiri Singh was made the commander of the *Naulakha Kalan Derab* which was previously a composite unit and was divided later on into *Naulakha Kalan* and *Naulakha Khurd*.<sup>20</sup>

Major part of the irregular cavalry was given remunerations by way of assignments. A part of this wing of the army was paid in cash on the pattern of regular cavalry. The services of Dewan Amar Nath were utilised as *bakhshi* of the irregulars and his tenure has been observed as very long.

A new and novel institution of the then army consisting of all its three wings namely infantry, cavalry and artillery was raised by the Maharaja, in 1822 which possessed conspicuous talents and high degree of perfection as is depicted from its very name. The *Fauj-i-khas* displayed an emblem of eagle with Guru Gobind Singh's injunctions engraved on it along with a typical flag. As the *Fauj-i-Khas* contained everything special and conspicuous in its structure, it served as a model for the whole army of the Maharaja.

Griffin gives certain observations regarding the irregular cavalry:

The irregular levies and *Jagirdari* contingents.... were the picturesque element in the Maharaja's reviews. Many of the men were well-to-do country gentlemen, the sons, relations, or clansmen of chiefs who placed them in the field and maintained them there, and whose personal credit was concerned in their splendid appearance. There was no uniformity in their dress. Some wore a shirt of mail, with a helmet, inlaid with gold and a *kalgi* or heron's plumes; others were gay with the many coloured splendours of velvet and silk, with pink or yellow muslin turbans, and gold embroidered belts, carrying their sword and powder-horn. All wore at the back, the small round shield of tough buffalo hide. These magnificent horsemen were armed with bows and arrows but the majority used matchlocks, with which they made excellent practice.

Writings on Ranjit Singh by many a western dignitaries throw ample light on the dress and equipment of the army of the Maharaja. It will be worth taking up this subject here. Baron Charles Hugel writes that he never beheld a finer nor a more remarkably striking body of men. Each one was dressed differently, and yet so much in the same fashion, that they all looked in perfect keeping.

Lt. Col. Steinbach observes:

The costume of the regular infantry is scarlet, with different coloured facings, to distinguish regiments, as in the British service. The trousers are of blue linen; the head-dress is a blue turban, with one end loose, and spread so as to entirely cover the head, back of the neck, and shoulders; the belts are of black leather; the arms, musket and bayonet are manufactured at Lahore. The cavalry wear helmets or steel caps, round which shawls or scarfs are folded. The irregulars, in their dress and appointments, fully justify the appellation which their habits and mode of making war obtained for them. Cotton silk, or broad cloth tunics of various colours, with addition of shawls, cloaks, breast plates, or coats of mail, with turbans or helmets, *ad libitum*, impart to them a motley but picturesque appearance.

A celebrated writer observes that

The guns were of various calibres, light and heavy howitzers, motors for hill service, and camel swivels. There were besides a large number of what Lt. Barr called "Fuzes" and "Purmeer," which were light guns, the latter being long and shaped like a duck, and fired either from the ground or from a tripod.... The metal employed in the manufacture of guns has been described as inferior to that of British make, and their finish too as somewhat poorer. But the pieces of artillery, of which the majority were less than six-pounders, were on an

average greater in weight than those of the English.<sup>23</sup>

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's deep interest in the formation of forces and giving new orientation led to a remarkable development in the army. Nevertheless, the recruitment, composition, pay, allowances, promotions, arms and dresses of all the three wings of the army witnessed remarkable change in the army of the Maharaja. Merit was the sole consideration for the recruitment of the army staff. As a result, Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, Afghans, Pathans and Rajputs were all enlisted to the army. Incentives in the form of *jagirs*, cash payments and *ingis* (allowances) were granted. The best in the native institution of the army and the best in the western warfare was a very judiciously and wisely combined together to convert the army into a formidable and strong organisation.

Last but not the least some impressions of the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh reflecting the character traits of Sikh soldiers scattered in the pages of History are given here for the interest of the readers. Those impressions are taken up mostly from the writings of contemporary or near contemporary European writers who happened to observe the attitude of the Sikh soldiers while in action in the first and second Anglo Sikh Wars. General Gough states that the Sikh soldiery fought with a discipline and stubbornness unequalled in their experience of native warfare... Their gallantry and discipline in the fight evoked the admiration of their enemies. The soldiery were the most stubborn ever seen in India. Their guns were heavier and more numerous than those of the British and were admirably served.

General Thackwell writes about the battles of Gujrat and Chillianwala that the Sikhs caught hold of the bayonets of their assailants with their left hands, and closing with their adversary dealt furious sword-blows with their right. This circumstance alone would be sufficient to demonstrate the rare species of courage possessed by these men. It might be doubted by many that one Sikh foot soldier repulsed three lancers at Chillianwala. But such had been stated to be a fact. The infantry man received the thrust of the lance on his shield and rushing under it cut at the lancer or shivered the lance into atoms with his sword.<sup>24</sup>

General Cough writes that Lieutenant Sievwright, an officer of His Majesty's 9th Foot, had been desperately wounded in front of the Sikh battery and lay all that night in dreadful anguish on the field with a shattered leg, helpless and unable to move. Seeing a Sikh soldier approaching, Sievwright grasped his pistol and challenged him, to his relief; The Sikh replied, 'Salam Sahib.' Seeing that he was clearly, kindly disposed, Sievwright called him up: the man sat down beside him and after some conversation, it was arranged that the Sikh soldier should carry him to the nearest succour. This good Samaritan took his wounded foe on his back and carried him at the peril of his own life, some two miles to the rear where he met a *doli*, in which Sievwright was placed and conveyed to Ferozpur. Acts of kindness between enemies have often been heard on a battlefield but never one that could surpass this. The Sikh remained with Lt. Sievwright and tended him in hospital.<sup>25</sup>

As a matter of fact, this was the legacy of the injunctions of Guru Gobind Singh to the Sikhs. The above statement of General Gough is based on the personal experience of the behaviour of the Sikh soldier towards his enemy and its productive germs can be traced back to the days of Guru Gobind Singh when Bhai Kanahiya saw in each and every enemy the form and figure of Guru Gobind Singh and dressed the wounds of the enemy in the battle field. Very truly, the tenth Guru taught his disciples the lesson of the service of humanity irrespective of his being a friend or a foe. It has been well said that religious fervour produced Sikh soldiers and religious fervour alone could maintain their soldierly qualities.

## References

1. George Forster, *A Journey From Bengal to England, Through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia, and into Russia by the Caspian-Sea*, Vol. I, pp.339-40.  
  
(Letter No. XI). George Forster was basically a civil servant on the Madras establishment of the British East India Company who wrote the book under reference in the form of letters, twelve in number, the last having been written from Kashmir in April 1837 to Earl Cornwallis whom he addresses at page V as 'The right honourable Knight of the most noble order of the Garter; one of His Britannick Majesty's honourable Privy Council, Lieutenant- General of His Majesty's Forces; Governor-General and Commander- in-Chief of all the possessions and Forces of His Britannick Majesty, and of the honourable the United, Company of Merchants of England, in the East-Indies, etc. etc. etc.
2. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs* (1849), Lahore, 1897.
3. Sir David Ochterlony to Government, 27th February, 1812, quoted *Ibid.*, p. 156.
4. *Ibid.*, Sir David Ochterlony to Government 4th March, 1813.
5. Sita Ram Kohli, *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1919, p.1.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.3-4.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-12.
9. *Ibid.*, bundle No. A VIII.
10. *Ibid.*, A.2.
11. J.D. Cunningham. *op.cit.*, pp. 153-57.
12. Steinbach, Lieut, Colonel, *The Punjaub...*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint),p.68.
13. Kaye, "Life of Lord Metcalf," Vol. I, p.276 quoted G.L. Chopra, *The Panjab as a Sovereign State*, Hoshiarpur, 1928, p. 60, fn.1.
14. Waheed-ud-Din, Fakir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1981, p. 120.
15. Sita Ram Kohli. *op.cit.*, A. VIII.
16. *Ibid.*, A. XVII.
17. Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, Delhi, 1964, p.80.
18. Sita Ram Kohli, *op. at.*, A.XVII.
19. Lord Auckland Hobhouse, 9th December, 1838, Col. 359 quoted B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Nabha, 1977, p. 318.

20. Sita Ram Kohli, *op. cit.*, A. XVII.
21. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 143-44.
22. Steinbach, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
23. G.L. Chopra, *op.cit.*, p. 70
24. General Thackwell, “narrative of the Second Sikh War”, quoted by Balwant Singh, *The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1932, p. 60.
25. Sir C. Gough and A.D. Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars: the Rise, Conquest and Annexation of the Punjab State*, London, 1897, p. 105.

## Chapter III

### Treaties of 1801, 1806 and 1809—North Western Frontier Policy

We have already delved on the army organisation in the eighteenth century. The formation of Sikh forces by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the lion of the Punjab and the new orientation given to the army by him with the assistance of the Western experts have also been delineated in the previous chapter. A pertinent question arises as to what was the mission of the Maharaja behind the campaigns undertaken by him during his long career of forty years. Historians and writers unanimously agree on the point that the most cherished object in life and the favourite most dream of the Maharaja was to be the sovereign of all the Sikhs living between the Jamuna and the Indus. He never contemplated on a half way house. The Maharaja envisaged to build up a strong Sikh monarchy in his life time and this was the mission hidden behind all his campaigns launched in the near and far off country.

Chaos and confusion prevailed in the Punjab towards the close of the eighteenth century. It was split up into various independent principalities governed by different authorities i.e. the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Pathans, the Rajputs, etc. There was wide variety of neighbouring chiefs in the far flung eastern and western areas namely the Gurkhas, the British and the Marathas who were casting jealous eyes on the Punjab.

It was imperative for Ranjit Singh to reduce all these powers to submission if he was to quench the thirst of his cherished desire and fulfil his mission. Thus, a great mission in the mental picture of Ranjit Singh made him proceed on a continual campaign of warfare.

The acquisition of Lahore by the Maharaja was a land mark in his career of conquests and consolidation of the empire. During the years 1799-1811, the Maharaja while pursuing a programme or systematic aggression acquired a handsome area of the Punjab in the trans-Satluj territory, which included the conquest and occupation of Lahore Bhasin, Jammu Akalgarh, Amritsar, Kasur, Jhang, Kangra, Gujrat and the occupation of the territories of neighbouring *misl* chiefs. By the year 1809, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was able to bring under his sway the whole of the central Punjab. The Maharaja adopted a diplomatic policy in order to subdue the *misl* chiefs. He extended the hands of friendship towards the potential *misl* sardars and reduced to submission the weaker ones with iron hands.<sup>1</sup>

The conquests of Multan by the Maharaja broke the concrete phalanx of the Muslim ruling states in the South. Ranjit Singh's victory of Hazro is a land mark in the annals of history because it marked the supremacy of the kingdom of Lahore over the Punjab. With the conquest of Kashmir, the Maharaja enlarged the frontier of his kingdom upto the borders of China and Tibet. The conquest of Peshawar brought to end the long drawn sequence of invasions in the North West Frontier.

In order to realise his dream of capturing the whole of the Punjab, it was imperative for the Maharaja to deal with the British effectively. It was a stroke of his policy to deal with the British diplomatically and prudently. In the successful carrying out of his mission, the Maharaja, many a time had to swallow a bitter pill. Albeit, knowing that the Britishers were a strong imperialistic power who had enforced the formidable Maratha armies to take to their heels, he kept them in good humour and concluded treaties with them. The treaties of 1806 and 1809 are a clear proof, if any proof is required, that the Maharaja consoled the British power at the cost of his power, self and glory and was able to bear with them through out the span of his conquests.

The Maharaja's mission of aggrandizement and consolidation of the Empire attracted him to conclude treaties with other powers of the time. The treaties of 1801, 1805 and 1809 were a stroke of diplomacy.

In 1801 the Maharaja settled terms with Nizam-ud-Din Khan, the Pathan of Kasur. Kasur was known as the mythological rival of Lahore. The trouble arose when the Kasur Pathans and Sahib Singh Bhangi, the chief of Bhangi Misl rebelled against Lahore kingdom. Maharaja Ranjit Singh personally marched for reducing to submission his enemies. He despatched Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala as commander of forces to Kasur. Sahib Singh Bhangi confined himself in the Gujrat fort when he heard that Lahore troops reached the vicinity of the fort. The fort was closely besieged. It was a long drawn struggle when a heavy fire was witnessed on both the sides. The Lahore troops affected many breaches in the wall of the fort and urged Sahib Singh Bhangi to negotiate for peace. The Bhangi chiefs paid a huge *nazrana* to the Lahore ruler. He also made commitment for future submission and a proper behaviour.

Terms were proposed to Nizam-ud-Din Khan, who submitted before Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala and offered to be feudatory of the Lahore kingdom. He was obliged to send his brother Qutab-ud-Din Khan for paying reverence to the Maharaja. The Kasur Pathan committed to furnish a quota of troops under the command of his brother to follow Ranjit Singh. As a security for the deeds promised by him, he despatched two Afghan chiefs named Haji Khan and Wasal Khan as hostages to Lahore.<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, the first campaign of Kasur was undertaken by Ranjit Singh in 1800, the second in 1801, the third in 1802 the fourth in 1802 and it was finally annexed in 1807.

In the beginning of the year 1805, Maharaja Ranjit Singh entered into treaties with the Muslim chiefs and families inhabiting the area of rivers Chenab and Jhelum. The nature of those treaties did not differ with that of the treaty of 1801 as those all aimed at territorial aggrandisement. As already stated the British imperialism was a great check on the growing power of the Maharaja. The British, at the preliminary stage were not in a position to poke nose in the Punjab affairs by the year 1800. Whenever and wherever they found danger to their own interests they approached the Maharaja through their agents. They were interested in bringing about familiarity with Ranjit Singh simply because they considered his kingdom as a buffer State against the Afghan invasion beyond Indus. Shah Zaman, the ruler of Kabul and grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali was expected to invade India about the year 1800. This made the British quite alert and they approached the Maharaja for friendly negotiations. Accordingly, Munshi Yusuf Ali Khan, a native agent was appointed to present himself to the court of the Maharaja and make him aware of his own interest and the interest of the state advising him not to negotiate with the Shah on the eve of his invasion of India. Resultantly, the Munshi approached the Maharaja with gifts from the British Government to persuade him to show indifferent attitude to the invader. The rumour of the Afghan invasion was diminished after sometime and Munshi Yusuf Ali Khan was called back from the court of the Maharaja. This contact of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the British has not much been taken notice of by the historians and writers on Ranjit Singh since it was an insignificant issue. The Maharaja came in closer contact with the British in the Year 1805, when Jaswant Rao Holkar the Maratha Chief visited Amritsar for seeking Maharaja's help against the British. The Maharaja heard this news when he was away to Multan in connection with the expedition for conquering the area. He immediately traced his steps back and convened a meeting of *Sarbat Khalsa* to decide the fate of Holkar.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile Lord Lake wrote a letter to Ranjit Singh not to entertain Holkar. The Lord himself followed Holkar in the Punjab and is said to have crossed the Beas encamping at Jalandhar in suspense.<sup>4</sup>

On the sincere advice of many chiefs Ranjit Singh thought it prudent not to spoil his relations with the British. Now withstanding the persuasion of Holkar who had convinced that he was the only aspiration of the Hindus of India, Ranjit Singh turned deaf ear. He, rather wanted the Maratha chiefs to help him reducing Kasur to submission before making any promise for extending help against the British. Ultimately Ranjit Singh expelled him from his dominion. Historians differ on the point that it was through Ranjit Singh's media that a peace was concluded between Marathas and the British. But the fact remains that a treaty was concluded between the two parties. The relation of the Maharaja was strengthened writes Latif.

A treaty of friendship and amity was signed afterwards on 1st January, 1806 between Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and the East India Company. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh Ahluwalia

gave their consent to see that Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Maratha chief, would take his army to a distance of not less than 30 *koss* and not to indulge in any communication with Holkar in future or to help his army anyway. The East India Company also agreed to shift its encampment from the banks of the Beas. It was also undertaken by the British that as long as the Company maintained cordial relations with both the Sikh Chiefs, it would never chalk-out any programme of hostility against them. Furthermore, the British army would never attempt to grab their possessions.

Cunningham argues that this treaty presented a vague friendly alliance between the Maharaja and the British. This treaty has, an otherwise significance too in so far as it provided an opportunity to the Maharaja to have his first connections with British officers and well disciplined troops. Some historians argue that on coming into contact with the British army the Maharaja began to entertain a notion of having a trained disciplined force on Western lines. This seems to be quite logical. However, certain writers disagree with this argument and opine that the Maharaja had already a mental picture of improving his army which was merely a rabble of horsemen before his time. Anyhow, the significance of this treaty lies in the fact that it secured for Ranjit Singh, the British criticism and interference to acquire territories in north-west of the Satluj. The Treaty of 1806 is given here in original for the interest of the readers.

‘Treaty of Friendship and Amity Between The Honourable East India Company and The Sirdars Ranjeet Singh and Futteh Singh-1806’

‘Sardar Ranjeet Singh and Sirdar Futteh Sing have consented to the following Articles of Agreement concluded by Lieutenant Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the Right Honorable Lord Lake, himself duly authorized by the Honorable Sir George Hilario Barlow, Baronet, Governor General, and Sirdar Futteh Sing, as principal on the part of himself and plenipotentiary on the party of Ranjeet Sing.’

#### ARTICLE 1

‘Sirdar Ranjeet Singh and Sirdar Futteh Singh Aloowalia hereby agree that they will cause Jeswunt Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of 30 *coss* from Amritsar immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him, or aid or assist him with troops, or in any other manner whatever; and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jeswunt Rao Holkar’s followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Deccan, but, on the contrary will render them every assistance in their power for carrying such intention into execution.’

#### ARTICLE II

‘The British Government hereby agrees that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the British army shall move from its present encampment on the banks of the River Beas as soon as Jeswunt Rao Holkar aforesaid shall have marched with his army to the distance of 30 *coss* from Amritsar; and that in any Treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar; it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said Treaty, Holkar shall evacuate the territories of the Sikhs and march towards his own, and that he shall in no way whatever injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that as long as the said chieftains Runjeet Sing and Futteh Sing abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committing any act of hostility on their parts against the said Government the British Armies shall never enter the territories of the said Chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.’

Dated 1st January 1806, corresponding with 10th Shawul, 1220, H.E

Seal of Runjeet Singh      Seal of Futteh Sing<sup>5</sup>

Some historians and writers argue that by not giving necessary assistance to Jaswant Rao Holkar, Maharaja Ranjit Singh deprived himself of the remarkable opportunity that suddenly came on his way. In that case, he could have expelled the British from the soil of India. Albeit, this can not be said to be logical and the infant kingdom which he was able to create could easily be harmed by the British who were a paramount power at that time. It was rather a wise step for him not to invite the hostility of the British. It has been well said that Ranjit Singh's help to the Maratha Chief could prove crucial for the Lahore ruler. Moreover, there was every chance for converting the Punjab into a battlefield for the struggle of the British against the Marathas which the shrewd Maharaja did not want and thus averted the critical situation.

Ranjit Singh was an astute statesman who could easily judge that to help the fugitive was full of dire consequences. Moreover, it was another stroke of Ranjit Singh's policy to keep Amir Khan, who was an ally of Holkar, at arms length because of the simple reason that an alliance with him would damage his interests. This alliance could easily ensure a check on the conquest and acquisition of Muslim states as Amir Khan would never like Ranjit Singh to harm the Muslim principalities. Griffin has given a very good analysis:

Ranjit Singh was dissuaded from this step which would *have* at once brought him into collision with the English, by his advisors Patch Singh Ahluwalia and the Raja of Jind.

Griffin has very strong and interesting arguments to give on this issue. He comments: 'Lord Lake pursued Holkar as far as Beas, and had not the only thought of the Governor-General been to conclude a speedy peace, one of the most inveterate enemies the English have ever had in India would have been utterly destroyed. At this time the periodical fit of timidity had seized on the Court of Directors in London. They had been frightened at the bold policy of Lord Wellesley, the most eminent of all Governor-Generals, and the feeble Cornwallis had been despatched to reverse it.

Conciliation was foolishly considered to be wisdom. A treaty was made with Holkar that restored to him the greater part of the territory which had been wrested from him, and a supplementary agreement, dated the 1st January, 1806, was made with Ranjit Singh and the Ahluwalia Chief...The treaties which excluded Holkar from the Punjab, practically secured Ranjit Singh from English interference in his plans of conquest north of the Sutlej.<sup>7</sup>

As in the case of treaties discussed above, the treaty of Amritsar concluded between the Maharaja and the British also aimed at territorial aggrandizement by keeping the British in good humour and promoting the interest of Lahore Kingdom. Before discussing the treaty of Amritsar-1809, it is imperative to delineate the circumstances which led to this treaty.

The very mission of the Maharaja being the establishment of supremacy over all the Sikh chiefs, he was able to acquire most of the land of the Punjab upto the Satluj and thus, he cast his coveted eyes on the cis-Satluj area. Notwithstanding the fact that it was the custom of the day to conquer and acquire land, the fact remains that it was very painful for the weaker lords of the country to be deprived of it. Logically, the cis-Satluj chiefs were alarmed on the eve of the two expeditions led by the Maharaja in cis-Satluj area in 1806-7: accordingly they made an appeal to Mr. Seton at Delhi in order to seek his assistance against the aggressive and aggrandized designs of Maharaja. Since they received an evasive reply from the British resident they decided to see the Maharaja personally.

The apprehensions of Franco-Russian designs proved a mile-stone in the policy of British towards the Lahore ruler and they showed inclination to have friendly relations with the Maharaja and side by side to ensure the protection of the cis-Satluj area from him out of their own shrewd and diplomatic plans. Charles Metcalfe was duly sent to the court of the Maharaja to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him. As the Maharaja was not ready to accept the points raised by Metcalfe and put forth his own terms and conditions, the negotiation failed.

The Maharaja continued making territorial raids in the cis-Satluj area and captured some territories of this region during his third expedition. The British showed concern and forbade him from any further aggression. As the Franco-Russian invasion of India did not turn out to be a reality, the British were no more serious about a friendly alliance with the Maharaja and reacted to the situation. They sent David Ochterlony under the command of small force who asked the Maharaja to withdraw his troops from the cis-Satluj area. He also made it clear to the Maharaja that the cis-Satluj states had come under the protection of the British. The Maharaja who was very conscious about his position as a ruler of an infant kingdom swallowed a bitter pill and keeping the British in good humour signed the treaty of Amritsar.

Thus, we see that towards the close of the year 1808, as a result of the expedition of Maharaja Ranjit Singh towards the south of the Satluj while the negotiations were pending, the British complied with wishes of the cis-Satluj chiefs. Mr. Metcalfe was imparted instructions to declare the country between the Satluj and Jamuna under the protection of the British. Mr. Metcalfe's mission resulted in the treaty of Amritsar, of 25th April 1809. By means of terms of this treaty, the British Government agreed to have no concern with the territories and the subject of the ruler of Lahore to the North of the Satluj and Maharaja Ranjit Singh agreed not to commit any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs to the South of that river. The terms of the treaty of Amritsar are as follows:

#### TREATY with the RAJAH OF LAHORE 1809

'Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted, and both parties being anxious to maintain the relation of perfect amity and concord, the following Articles of Treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by Rajah Runjeet Sing on his own part, and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.'

#### ARTICLE 1

'Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore. The latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers; and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the River Satlej.'

#### ARTICLE 2

The Rajah will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependants, on the left bank of the River Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

#### ARTICLE 3

'In the events of a violation of any of the preceding Articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this Treaty shall be considered to be null and void.'

#### ARTICLE 4

This Treaty consisting of four Articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsur, on the 25th day of April 1809, Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe had delivered to the Rajah of Lahore a copy of the same,

in English and Persian, under his seal and signature, and the said Rajah has delivered another copy of the same, under his seal and signature; and Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe engages to procure, within the space of two months, a copy of the same duly ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Rajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Rajah shall be returned.'

Seal and signature of C.T.METCALFE Company's Seal

Signature and seal  
Rajah Runjeet Singh.  
(sd.)Minto

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 30th May 1809.<sup>8</sup>

After the conclusion of this treaty, the inter-relation of the British Government with the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was, for many years, confined to the inter-change of friendly letters and presents. The Maharaja was too sagacious and far seeing to give an opportunity of offence by the violation of his treaty engagements, and he restricted his plans of conquests and consolidations to the direction of Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar.

The treaty proved a land mark in the history of the Punjab of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's times. It determined the relations of the Lahore kingdom with the British. It put serious restrictions in the way of the Maharaja to consolidate his position as a sovereign of all the Sikhs residing between the Indus and Jamuna. Now it became a dream to claim an allegiance of the cis-Satluj chiefs.

Under the obligations of treaty, the Maharaja was not to keep more troops on the West bank of the Satluj than were required for the maintenance of peace and order. This definitely lowered the prestige of the Maharaja.

There is no denying the fact the Maharaja derived certain advantages by the conclusion of this treaty. The Maharaja, as per terms of the treaty could have a free hand in the Western Frontier. He diverted his attention to expand his kingdom to the West. Now the Maharaja was free to conquer the Muslim territories of Kashmir, Peshawar, Derajat namely Dera Ismail Khan and Dara Gazi Khan. As a matter of fact, he conquered the central Punjab with the result that he became the ruler of the whole strip of land from Lahore to Khyberpass and from Lahore to Sind. Now the British could not stand in the way of the Maharaja. Captain Wade is right when he wrote in 1837, "Ranjit Singh has hitherto derived nothing but advantage from his alliance with us, while we have been engaged in consolidation of our power in Hindustan; he has been extending his conquest throughout the Punjab and across the Indus." In the absence of the treaty of Amritsar, the Maharaja would have opened two fronts, one in the East and other in the West. In this case his newly organised state troops would have been exhausted. This would have resulted in devastation by the British. Moreover, it was only on account of this very treaty obligations that the Maharaja could seal the North-West border.

On the whole, it is safe to say that the treaty of Amritsar made it easy for the British to consolidate their position in India. Marking the triumph of British diplomacy, the treaty saved them from the North-West Frontier menace. This treaty helped the British to come close to the kingdom of Lahore, notwithstanding the fact that it extended the protection to cis-Satluj states. These states would have vanished with the annexation of Punjab in 1849. But it was there in store for them to prosper for more than a century.

The treaty of Amritsar concluded in the year 1809, made Ranjit Singh a free lancer to carry out his North-West Frontier Policy. He devoted his full time and energy for the conquests and consolidation of this region. Resultantly, the Punjab was never made a target of invasions from beyond the Indus during the reign of forty years of the Maharaja. The series of invasions which had been witnessed by the Punjabis for centuries together were put a full stop by the earnest efforts of Ranjit Singh. Nevertheless, he was the first non-Muslim sovereign who after the reign of Anangpal created a strong Government in the Punjab. Ranjit Singh's success in the North-West Frontier Province was decidedly facilitated on account of the internal strife and anarchic condition at Kabul. Before we proceed on with the N.W.F Policy of Ranjit Singh, it is imperative to delve on the state of affairs prevailing in contemporary Afghanistan. We are already aware of the hindrances which came on the way of Ahmad Shah Abdali, in establishing an empire in Punjab after whose death in 1773, twelve *misls* ruled over the Punjab. It goes without saying that the supremacy of the Durrani was confined to

Multan and Kashmir beyond the Indus. In Multan, the Bhangi Misl dominated even during the life time of Ahmed Shah Abdali who was succeeded by his son Taimur. Taimur ruled over Afghanistan for a pretty long time i.e., full twenty years. During his life time, he continuously struggled hard for forming a hold over his country. After carrying out his first interest which was the establishment of a strong Government in his native country, he diverted his attention to the territory beyond the Indus. Consequently, he ousted the Bhangis from Multan and made attempts to reassert his authority in the Punjab. Albeit, as it was very difficult for him to do arduous task of crossing swords with the Lahore kingdom; he had to give a free hand to the *misls*. This vital development opened an opportunity for the rise of monarchy under Ranjit Singh. After the demise of Taimur in 1793, his three sons namely, Shah Zaman, Shah Mahmud and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk<sup>9</sup> took interest in the affairs of the Punjab. Shah Zaman was the first Afghan ruler whom Ranjit Singh had to face on the eve of his invasion of India in 1798. However, Shah Zaman was dethroned from the Kabul monarchy, soon after. As a result of which civil war commenced in Afghanistan shifting the throne from one to another son of Taimur. Barakzais emerged out of this anarchy to hold the reigns of Government of Kabul in their own hands as titular rulers of Kabul. Side by side, they held command over the various provinces of Afghanistan. History witnessed serious rivalry among the Barakzai brothers which resulted in the segregation of Multan and Kashmir, Attock and Derajat.

The precarious political situation of Kabul hindered the possibility of Afghan invasion of the Punjab and gave Ranjit Singh a golden opportunity to conquer and consolidate his position in that quarter. Resultantly, Ranjit Singh reduced central Punjab to submission. Before the emergence of a powerful monarchy in Afghanistan under the leadership of Amir Dost Mohammed, Maharaja Ranjit Singh achieved victory over Attock, Multan, Kashmir, Derajat, Peshawar etc.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the panic and anarchy prevailing in Afghanistan helped the Maharaja in conquering far off territories and consolidating them. For administering the conquered territories the measures adopted by the Maharaja especially in case of trans-Indus lands, need a little bit of elaboration. After the battle of Naushera, a force consisting of 12,000 men was stationed at Peshawar under the command of General Hari Singh Nalwa who exacted tribute from the chiefs of the area. The Nalwa Sardar exercised civil and military powers in the said province till his death in 1837. All this was done taking note of the situation in Afghanistan. After the establishment of strong government at Kabul by Dost Mohammed, it, however, became difficult for Ranjit Singh to dominate over the affairs in Afghanistan. He, thus, got the opportunity to get it through Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk who had been staying at Ludhiana since 1814 under the British protection. But the negotiations failed. Ranjit Singh made certain other efforts too, to improve the affairs in Peshawar in his favour. Resultantly he had to postpone its annexation. Ultimately, the forward policy followed by Hari Singh Nalwa in Peshawar and for the apprehension that Shah Shuja might not manage to grab Peshawar, the Maharaja annexed it in 1834. Although the Maharaja conferred some *jagirs* to the frustrated Afghan chiefs, the fact remains that the civil and military authority remained in the hands of S. Hari Singh Nalwa, who from 1834 to 1837 governed the province with iron-hands and set up a military out-post at Jamrud. N.K. Sinha has rightly observed that 'Ranjeet Singh was to a large extent successful in the solution of his Western frontier problem. So long as the Sikh Kingdom lasted, the frontier was defended against Afghanistan. The border tribes, were not of course, brought under direct control but that was not possible under the circumstances. So far as the administration of the conquered territories on the Western frontier was concerned he showed an excellent grasp of the realities of the situation.

It will be quite in the fitness of things to delineate certain conspicuous aspects of the North West Frontier Policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The master stroke of his frontier policy was to conquer lands and consolidate the conquest. Such was the case with the conquests of Multan, Peshawar, Derajat, Kohat, Tonk, Bannu, etc. At the preliminary stage he deliberately did not bring those areas under direct control because of certain specific reasons. One of them being his helplessness to rule directly those territories situated beyond the Indus due to lack of resources. He being an astute statesman, fully grasped the exigency and emergency of the time and received tributes by appointing local Muslim chiefs who ungrudgingly accepted his overlordship. Peshawar was turn by turn, assigned to Jahandad Khan, Yar Mohammed Khan and Sultan Mohammed Khan. They acted his feudatories before Peshawar was annexed to the Kingdom. Tonk and Bannu were made tributaries in 1822. Dera Ismail Khan was first assigned to Hafis Mohammad Khan. Dera Ghazi Khan was

made tributary to the Nawab of Bhawalpur. These areas were later annexed between 1822-36. Syed Ahmed's territory was annexed only when the Maharaja found his position very strong in the area.

Before we discuss other features of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's N.W.F policy, it is imperative to note that most of the generals, commanders and noted persons in the army of the Maharaja were very anxious to conquer more and more territories. One such instance is reflected by a tradition which may not be cent per cent true but goes a long way in revealing the craze for conquests. It is said that when the Maharaja was sitting in the Attock Fort on the day of its conquest. General Hari Singh Nalwa showed his impatience to the Maharaja by requesting him to conquer Peshawar when they had reached its vicinity. The Maharaja is said to have asked him how far was Peshawar from that place. The quick and ready reply was that it was only ten furlongs distance. The shrewd Maharaja made a further query as to how long was a furlong. The quick witted General argued that it was of very short distance in the Punjab but very long in Afghanistan. The Maharaja smiled and quoted whether they were sitting in Punjab or Afghanistan; the quick and ready reply was that wherever His Majesty set his feet that was the Punjab.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's strategy was to refrain from conquering Afghanistan, notwithstanding the disturbed condition of the country. As a matter of fact, he was very much aware of the problems involved in this adventure. The geographical condition of the country, the patriotic rather obstinate attitudes of the Afghans, the problems of maintenance and supply of war material to the soldiers marching with the campaigns, the hardships of transportation to the distant area, etc. etc., were the main hindrances involved in the conquest of Afghanistan. The Maharaja was quite conscious while deciding the proposed acquisition. Perhaps he was requested by the officers of his army more than once to conquer Kabul albeit, the Maharaja never agreed. N.K. Sinha is right when he states that the Maharaja quite often spoke of invading of Afghanistan but it was just to please his *sardars* and French officers and to keep Dost Mohammed on tenter hooks.

Captain Wade was very much conscious about this enterprise and he wrote his impressions of his talks with the Maharaja on the Kabul issue. He states, 'It would be a very hazardous expedition. The country is strange to the Sikhs, intersected by the mountain, the observations to which His Highness at that time, expressed his concurrence.'...

Historians have a vague idea of the participation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the triple alliance of 1838 known as the Tripartite Treaty concluded between the British, Shah Shuja of Kabul and Ranjit Singh. Nevertheless, the Maharaja was a half hearted participant in the treaty mainly because he did not hope for any fruitful result out of this alliance. He was doubly unsure about the success of British in the adventure for they had substantial sources at their disposal. Thus, to think that the Maharaja was interested in the conquest of Afghanistan would be to misconceive his North-Western Frontier Policy.

The Maharaja besides consolidating his conquests in the N.W.F, and controlling the unruly tribal people, strengthened the frontiers. This was a vital step towards the safety of his own kingdom. He got built forts at various places as a measure of war strategy which included the fort of Jahangira, Khaira bad, Nara and Jamrud etc., etc. At places he also got constructed towers and strong moving columns were also kept in reserve for safeguarding the frontier region.

Another strategy the Maharaja used in the N.W.F was the setting up of a proper administrative machinery. As says Sinha in the administration of the N.W.F, the ruler of Lahore depicted an excellent grasp of the realities of situation. Of course, the Maharaja put up a strong defence against Afghanistan though the tribal people were not fully brought under control. It was, however, not feasible under the given circumstances. Hence we can say with certainty that the Maharaja solved the N.W.F. problem, with sagacity. The Afghans, of course, put up a strong resistance like true patriots which is a hard fact.

## References

1. Henry T. Prinsep, (compiled). *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1834), Patiala, 1970, pp. 40-56.
2. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Satlej*, London, 1853, p. 118; Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, Lahore, 1889, p.354.
3. *Ibid.*, p.119.
4. H.T. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, p. 46; J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
5. 'Treaty of Friendship and Amity between the Honorable East India Company and the Sirdars Ranjeet Singh and Futteh Singh, 1806.'
6. Sir Lepel Henry Griffin, *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of India Series), Oxford, 1905, p. 170.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.
8. 'Treaty of Friendship and Amity between the Honorable East India Company and the Sirdars Ranjeet Singh and Futteh Singh, 1806.'
9. The others being Shahzada Abbas, Himayun Shah and Feroz-ud-Din.
10. Syed Mohammad Latif, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-59,395,416-19,468- 82; cf. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-150.

## Chapter IV

### Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa: the Campaigns

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, an Uppal Khatri, born at Gujranwala in 1791, was an outstanding and distinguished general of the kingdom of Lahore. His ancestors belonged to Majitha, a prominent town in the vicinity of Amritsar having produced famous and popular chiefs of Lahore court. Both his grandfather, Hardas Singh (d-1752) and his father Gurdial Singh (d-1798) were followers of Sukkerchakia chiefs. Gurdial Singh fought shoulder to shoulder with Charat Singh and Maha Singh, the grandfather and father, respectively of Ranjit Singh on the campaigns envisaged by them.<sup>1</sup> In lieu of his services, Gurdial Singh received a *jagir* in village Balloke near Shahdar. Hari Singh was only seven years old when he lost his father. He was given informal education in *gurbani* and Persian in the house of his maternal uncle. By the year 1806 he had learnt the art of warfare <sup>2</sup> and could use bow arrow and sword with facility. Horse riding was his favourite past-time. He also maintained a good physique and possessed sensitive heart within the iron body. Qualities like courage and bravery were inherited by him from his brave ancestors. He is said to have taken *Khande di pabul*, in the early years of his career. Hugel, a German traveller who visited the court of Ranjit Singh remained in the Punjab and met Hari Singh later on. Talking about the qualities of head and heart of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa he remarked that his manner and conversation were very frank and affable.<sup>3</sup> Diwan Amar Nath who wrote intensively for the Maharaja gives a statement that Hari Singh was given a command of 800 horsemen and footmen with the honour of *Sardar* in that year.<sup>4</sup>

He must have joined the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by the year 1805.<sup>5</sup> Hari Singh is said to have impressed the Maharaja by his gallantry in the feats of sword, bow and arrow, horse riding etc. in the latter's *lien-bar* which he usually held on the eve of Basant fair. Resultantly, the Maharaja took him in his service.<sup>6</sup> It is also stated by some that before attaining this promotion Hari Singh was a *kebidmatgar* or a personal attendant in the service of Ranjit Singh.

As regards the appellation of Nalwa, the view that his generous attitude towards the needy and the rich compares him favourably with Raja Nal of the ancient times does not seem to gain ground on the main reason that we have an authentic contemporary evidence of Hugel on this point who has made mention of it in his *Travels*. He states that Hari Singh had gained the appellation of Nalwa having cloven the head of a tiger who had already seized him as its prey. Hugel gives some more clue and says that the Nalwa Sardar arranged for him a painted portrait of his in the act of killing the beast.<sup>7</sup>

Hugel gives some more information about Hari Singh Nalwa's credentials and states that the Nalwa Sardar, by the year 1831 was held in high esteem and was much in confidence of his master, the ruler of Lahore. He was one of the members of the important mission sent by the Maharaja to see Lord William Bentinck at Shimla on 23rd April, 1831.<sup>8</sup>

The very favourable disposition in which the ruler of Lahore seemed to be at this juncture, encouraged Lord William Bentinck to hope, that a proposition for a personal meeting between himself and Ranjit Singh would likely to be well received. He accordingly instructed Captain Wade, when at Lahore, on the occasion above related, to sound the chief's confidential advisers on the subject. As anticipated by the British, the ruler of Lahore showed great desire for the meeting, but some difficulty was at first stated in respect to the etiquette of previous return mission, Ranjit Singh having paid his Lordship the commitment of sending one, similarly composed to that which waited on Lord Amherst. The mission had been received by Lord William Bentinck in April, soon after his arrival at Shimla as both the parties wanted it. Its members as deputed by the Maharaja were Dewan Moti Ram, son of Mukham Chand, Sardar Hari Singh and the secretary, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din. They had been treated by Governor General with much distinction, and a return mission of some of the principal British officers had been promised or rather held out in expectation<sup>9</sup>.

Sohan Lal Suri writes that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was overjoyed to hear the exceptional reception and regards given to his representing members of the mission. He issued order for the salute of guns for the very success of the mission.

Before we take up the issue of virtually sealing of the border of N.W.F. by the Nalwa Sardar it will be quite in the fitness of things to take up his preliminary conquests which he undertook, for extending the Kingdom of Lahore and strengthening the position of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. As a matter of fact, Hari Singh, Nalwa's participation and contribution is noticed in almost all the significant conquests made by the Maharaja. Let us delineate a few here to assess his achievements.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa displayed his capacity of warfare and capability in the important army campaign of Kasur which was rightly called the mythological rival of Lahore. The Pathans of Kasur were zealous patriots whose ruler Nizam-ud-Din was reputed enemy of Ranjit Singh. He had provoked Ranjit Singh on the eve of the battle of Bhasin and was a member of the coalition formed against him. A number of expeditions were arranged against Nizam-ud-Din between the year 1801 and 1806. He was compelled to give a huge indemnity and submit.<sup>10</sup>

In the year 1807, Kasur was again in revolt against the Lahore kingdom when Nizam-ud-Din expired and the charge of Kasur had been taken up by his brother, the new ruler Kutub-ud-Din. As he was not in favour to continue with the humiliating relations with Ranjit Singh he gathered together a huge strength of Ghazis and became ready to face the Lahore troops with the assistance of Nawab Muzzaffar Khan, the ruler of Multan. Kasur had always been a sore in the eyes of Ranjit Singh, the relative independence of which caused him disquietude writes Cunningham.<sup>11</sup> The Maharaja invested the place along with Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhia far silencing the large colony of Pathans forever. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa displayed his courage and bravery in this expedition so much so that under his command the young army men of Sherdil Regiment caught hold of Nawab Kutub-ud-Din alive and presented him before Ranjit Singh. The Afghans who had proclaimed crusade or *jihad* against Ranjit Singh had to cut a sorry figure.<sup>12</sup>

As a matter of fact, lack of unity in their ranks weakened their resistance. Nawab Kutub-ud-Din surrendered at discretion at the end of the month. Kasur was annexed to the kingdom of Lahore and the name of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa began to shine in the sky of the kingdom of Lahore like a brilliant star. Nawab Kutub-ud-Din was granted a huge *Jagir* in the Mamdod area. It was a tract situated on the opposite side of the Satluj. The grant of *Jagir* for maintenance to the subdued chief was all along a matter of policy with Ranjit Singh. Syed Muhammad Latif while giving the detail of conquest of Kasur by the Lahore troops gives certain derogatory remarks<sup>13</sup> about the invaders which are not authenticated by the course of historical events taken place. Logic also defies such statements. However, the account given by Latif may add to our knowledge about the details of the battle field. Kutub-ud-Din shut himself up in the fortress of Kasur, writes Latif. But 'internal seditions and broils completed the ruin of his family'.<sup>14</sup> Latif further states that Fattah Din Khan nephew of Kutub-ud-Din Khan and son of Nizam-ud-Din was also granted a *jagir* at Marup, in the District of Gurgaon subject to the same condition of service as were imposed upon his uncle. Kasur was temporarily assigned to Sardar Nihal Singh Attariwala.<sup>15</sup>

On the return of the victorious troops and General like Hari Singh Nalwa to Lahore, a grand *darbar* was held. The cities of Lahore and Amritsar were tastefully decorated and illuminated to celebrate the occasion. The joining of the participating troops in the victory of Kasur can well be imagined from a large amount as *nazarana*, sent to Amritsar to be presented at Harimandar Sahib.<sup>16</sup>

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's March against Kasur in the year 1803 and around it with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and other sardars deserves a mention here and that too through the pen of a contemporary like Sohan Lal Suri, the *Roznamacha Navis* of the Maharaja. This depicts how both the Sikhs and the Pathans were pitched against each other for long before the annexation of the strip of land by the sovereign of Lahore in 1807.

As observed by Sohan Lal Suri, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahulwalia, who had crossed Satluj along with other Sardars, had decided to conquer Kasur. The troops of the *sardars* were stationed at a distance around 5 *kos* from Kasur. Nawab Nizam-ud-Din Khan, who had received his title from Shah Zaman due to his shrewd designs and policies had resorted to loot the neighbouring areas and the Maharaja was determined to put an end to this plunder. In the ensuing battle Ranjit Singh's troops and his *sardars* like Sardar Fateh Singh fought bravely; the Khan complimented them in gallantry but he was no match for the Maharaja and his chiefs. Resultantly, he fled to the fort. Owing to the advice of some wise men, Qutub-ud-Din Kasuria presented himself in the presence of the Maharaja and submitted. Maharaja Ranjit Singh afterwards got a fort built near Kasur and stationed his troops there.

In another campaign, the Maharaja ordered his troops and the allied forces to encamp near Kasur. The army decided to camp at Naushehra. Around one lakh cavalry and infantry of Maharaja's army besieged Kasur and fierce fighting continued for a few days. After much bloodshed Qutab-ud-Din Kasuri, realising his inability to fight a strong *Khalsa* army, begged for peace and once again sought Maharaja's forgiveness through Sardar Fateh Singh Ahulwalia. Kasur and surrounding areas witnessed setting up of strong *chaunkis*. All the sardars, who participated in this battle, were rewarded suitably. Sardar Dhanna Singh who was injured badly while fighting was given highly fertile land *in jagir*.

The cis-Satluj expedition of 1807 may be called as the second expedition in which Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa depicted his genius by effective negotiations between the Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala his wife Rani Aas Kaur. The Maharaja deputed the Nalwa Sardar for marching to Patiala for controlling the situation. Hari Singh Nalwa was able to do the needful and win the confidence of Maharaja. As a matter of fact, a dispute had arisen between the Rani and her husband from whom she wanted to procure the administration of the Patiala State for her son Karam Singh. The Raja of Patiala did not consider it advisable to accept the demand of the Rani and showed his resentment. Tradition holds that Rani Aas Kaur sought Ranjit Singh's help in this family dispute. She proposed to offer him the prominent gun named *Karakhan* along with an expensive necklace in lieu thereof.<sup>17</sup> Ranjit Singh despatched Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa at the head of some troops and himself followed him with some troops in September, 1807. It is said that during this expedition the Maharaja acquired the possessions of Nur-u-nisa of Ludhiana. Prinsep states that in September, on his route towards Patiala, he seized all the remaining possessions of the deceased alias-Rao, and distributed them amongst his dependents and allies.<sup>18</sup> As the negotiations had already been completed the Maharaja came back victorious without shedding even a drop of blood.<sup>19</sup> Some historians, however, opine that the intervention of rulers of Thanesar and Jind also went along way in resolving the Patiala issue.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa's next achievement which enhanced his prestige not only in the eyes of his master, the ruler of the Punjab but also in the eyes of the rival *sardars* of the Lahore court was the conquest of Sialkot. Maharaja Ranjit Singh suggested Sardar Jiwan Singh, the chief of Sialkot to submit before the Maharaja, surrender all his acquisitions and keep only a few villages with him by way of a *Jagir*. Albeit, the chief of Sialkot did not pay any attention to it. Resultantly, General Hari Singh Nalwa led an expedition to subdue Sardar Jiwan Singh of Sialkot. The fort of Sialkot was sieged and the chief taken into custody though after tough resistance. The victory of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa made the ruler of Lahore an unquestionable ruler of not only Sialkot but also of its surrounding area upto Jammu. This tract of land was known for its agricultural production. The contribution of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa towards the extension of Lahore kingdom led to his unexpected rise in future times.

Multan being an ancient city had a significant status from strategic view point and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa's contribution towards the acquisition of this place is conspicuous as this strengthened the position of Lahore kingdom for further conquests. Out of almost seven expeditions sent against Multan by Ranjit Singh from 1802 to 1818, the Nalwa Sardar seems to have participated in almost all, albeit, his contribution in the last incursion, when Multan was annexed to the kingdom of Lahore, was great which considerably enhanced his prestige. Besides, he exacted tributes from Naushera, Mitha Tiwana and Rajauri for his master, the

Maharaja.

Multan was in fact a key to the territory of Sind. It had its commercial significance too as it was situated enroute to Afghanistan. The ancient city and the district of Multan were ruled by an Afghan family of the royal blood who were appointed Nawabs in 1738, at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion when the Mughal Government was anxious to strengthen its outlying provinces by a system of decentralization which it was too weak to control. Between 1771 and 1779, the city was held with some intervals by the Bhangi chiefs.<sup>20</sup> The tract of Shujabad was however, held by the Sadozai chief, Shuja Khan who administered this territory till 1776 and the charge was taken over by his son and successor Muzaffar Khan. In his own turn, Muzaffar Khan assisted by the positive help rendered by Timur Shah ousted the Bhangis from Multan which remained with the former with some intervals from 1779 to 1818.<sup>21</sup> He was at first feudatory of Kabul but later on assumed independent character. He was an energetic person and held his own neighbouring tribes, the Sial and others who made incursions on him.<sup>22</sup>

Griffin writes that in 1802 Muzaffar Khan first saw the young Lahore ruler who had marched from his capital to spy out the land.<sup>23</sup> Latif has given us a detailed account of expedition of Multan and states that after freeing himself from the Kasur expedition of 1802 the troops had not yet recovered from the fatigue of recent campaign when the indefatigable ruler of Lahore marched as far Multan. Some of the chiefs endeavoured to dissuade him from arranging an expedition to Multan at this juncture. They pleaded that the troops were weary and exhausted with their recent exertions but the Maharaja considered those counsels as effeminate and untimely. Multan was rich and Multan he must have without fail. Muzaffar Khan sent his trusted agent to Lahore ruler to induce him to retreat after receiving a *nazrana*. He also committed future submission. Griffin states that the Nawab came out to meet him thirty miles away from the city. The chiefs having interchanged valuable presents parted very good friends.<sup>24</sup>

Griffin observes that in the year 1806 after having reduced Jhang to submission, Ranjit Singh marched towards Multan and stationed at Mahtam, 20 miles north of the city, when the Nawab having no wish to fight paid him a sum of rupees 70,000 to retire.<sup>25</sup> Though no direct evidence is forthcoming about the struggle of General Hari Singh Nalwa in these battles yet it can easily be said that in historical perspective that the Nalwa sardar's involvement was the greatest probability.

In the year 1807 the appetite of the Maharaja whetted, writes Griffin, by what he had so easily owned, he returned and attacked Multan. The town was in part captured but the fort held out and an agreement was concluded through Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala by which General like Hari Singh Nalwa retreated after receiving a huge sum of money. Nawab Muzaffar Khan having been weary of war then made a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>26</sup>

At the beginning of 1810, Ranjit Singh again marched to Multan. Latif writes that it was his long contemplated campaign. The Maharaja called upon Muzaffar Khan to surrender Multan to him in the name of the Kabul king. The Nawab tried to negotiate by sending his men and committing to pay the tribute within a stipulated time albeit, the ruler of Lahore kingdom did not pay any heed. General Hari Singh Nalwa and other Sardars were got ready to make an assault while encamping before Multan having ravaged the surrounding strip of land. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and other chiefs with their troops reached before the walls of the Multan fort on 24th February, 1810.<sup>27</sup> The city was taken into possession on 25th February. The account of various writers giving the detail of the siege is available without much difference in the narration of facts. But we take this for our considerations the account of Griffin first which is concise. The descriptions of Griffin and the Latif run simultaneously. The narrative of Latif is, however, followed by us in much bigger details. Griffin observes that for some time the fort was bombarded but not with much effect. Mining was then resorted to and General Hari Singh Nalwa played a conspicuous part. Griffin states that 'the besieged countermined with success and blew up the battery of Attar Singh Dhari, killing him with twelve of his men. On the 21st of March a general assault was ordered, but the Sikhs were repulsed with great loss, and they now grew disheartened, for provisions had become very dear in their camp. Diwan Mohkam Chand, the General,

was dangerously ill, and several leaders had been slain while scarcely any impression had been made on the citadel. On the 25th another assault was made with, the same result. It was necessary to raise the siege, and Ranjit Singh, to his intense mortification, had to accept from Muzaffar Khan the terms which he had many times rejected, namely, two and a half lakhs of rupees, twenty war horses, and a contingent in time of war. Having received 30,000 in earnest of the ransom, the Maharaja retired from Multan on the 14th April.<sup>28</sup>

Syed Muhammad Latif observes 'the appearance of the Sikh army at Multan and their occupation of the town, spread alarm throughout the neighbouring country: Muhammad Khan, the chief of Leia and Bhakkar, bought off the invader by the payment of Rs. 1, 20,000 as a ransom for his state, and the chief of Bhawalpur, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, though a friend of Muzaffar Khan's offered a lakh as tribute, but as the Maharaja wanted more substantial aid, the offer was not accepted. The Bahawalpur chief was, at last, compelled to furnish a contingent of 500 cavalry for services in the impending Multan campaign.<sup>29</sup> Although the Sikh army turned out victorious yet Latif gives somewhat gloomy picture of the winning party notwithstanding a picturesque portrait of the assault of the Sikh troops'. He states that 'the citadel of Multan was now closely besieged by the Sikh army, but the Pathans offered a stout resistance, and the most strenuous attempts of the Sikh soldiers to carry the fort by assault signally failed. A heavy bombardment was kept up for several days, but without any effect. Batteries were then erected opposite the fort, and an incessant fire was maintained, but hardly any impression was made on the citadel. Recourse was at length taken to mining, but the besieged successfully counter mined. Ranjit Singh made the most solemn and lavish promises to the chiefs who should distinguish themselves in the action by the earliest effective advance. He personally reconnoitred the enemy's position, examined his posts and fixed his own, marking out the spots for the batteries, and assigning lines of approach to the different chiefs, whose sense of duty to their countrymen was appealed to with vehemence. Extensive transport arrangements were made both by land and water from Lahore and Amritsar, and the whole resources of the country were unreservedly placed at the disposal of the military authorities to secure this much coveted possession, The famous Bhangi *Top*, named 'Zamzama' was brought from Lahore to batter down the walls of the fort, but it made little impression on the besieged. It discharged a ball of two and a half mounds (kacha), or 80 Ibs. in weight, but the appliances for working this huge piece of ordnance were wanting in the Sikh camp, while nobody possessed sufficient sense and skill to make a proper use of it. Some little impression that was made on the ramparts of citadel by the Sikh artillery had the effect only of redoubling the zeal of the besieged, who, in countermining, blew up the battery of Sardar Attar Singh Dhari, close to the fort, killing the *sardar* and twelve others and severely wounding many more, among whom were Sardar Nehal Singh Attariwala, and the youthful Hari Singh Nalwa.<sup>30</sup>

Griffin has given a detailed account of the campaigns of Multan by the Lahore army. As regards the campaign of 1816, he states, an irregular attack was made upon Multan by the Sikhs. A strong force had been sent to Bahawalpur and Multan to collect the tribute, and there being some delay in Muzaffar Khan's payment, Phula Singh Akali led storming party against the town, and with such impetuosity did they make the attack that they gained possession of some of the outworks of the citadel.... The Nawab paid his tribute quicker than he would otherwise have done, and the Sikh army under a number of commandants like Hari Singh Nalwa proceeded towards Mankera. In 1817, a Sikh army under Diwan Chand marched against Multan and attacked the fort, but was repulsed, and retired on payment of ten thousand rupees. These attempts, however, were not made in earnest. The Maharaja was collecting his strength for a great effort, and had sworn that Multan, which had so often defied him, should yet be his. During the cold weather of 1817, he was gathering supplies and men from all quarters, and in January 1818, an expedition consisting of 18,000 men was sent under the nominal leadership of Prince Kharak Singh<sup>31</sup>. But in reality different divisions commanded by Misr Diwan Chand, Hari Singh Nalwa, Moti Ram, Fateh Singh Ahulwalia etc., marched from Lahore on the way to Multan and the forts of Khangarh and Muzaffargarh were taken. The city was invested and captured early in February and the bombardment of the Fort commenced. The Nawab had a garrison of only 2000 men and the citadel was not duly provisioned for a siege. Albeit, he made a defence the like of which the Sikhs had never before seen.<sup>32</sup>

Bombardment continued till the 2nd June. Two large breaches had been made in the walls, for the great Bhangi gun, the *zamazama* of Ahmad Shah had been brought from Lahore and had been four times fired with effect. More than one assault was given by the Sikhs, but they were repulsed on one occasion with the loss of 1800 men. The gates were blown. The besieged fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. The defenders of the Fort were at length reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the tribe or family of Muzaffar Khan. The rest had either been killed or had gone over to the enemy.<sup>33</sup>

Griffin argues that on the 2nd June, an Akali, by name Sadhu Singh, determined to surpass what Phulla Singh had done in 1816, rushed with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort, and taking the Afghans by surprise, captured it. The Sikh forces seeing this success, advanced to the assault and mounted the breach at the Khizri Gate. Here the old Nawab, with his eight sons and all that remained of his garrison, stood, swords in hand, resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghan swords that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their matchlocks. 'Come on like men' shouted the Afghans, and let us fall in fair fight.' But this was an invitation which the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Muzaffar Khan, and five of his sons scorning to accept quarter. The sixth was wounded severely in the face, and two accepted quarter and were saved. Few of the garrison escaped with their lives<sup>34</sup>, and the whole city was given up to plunder. The fort of Shujahabad was also reduced and five guns taken from it. After this, walls of Multan were repaired, a garrison of six hundred men was placed in the fort, and the Sikh army returned to Lahore.<sup>35</sup>

General Hari Singh Nalwa's contribution towards the acquisition of Attock and Kashmir is very meaningful. His campaigns of Kashmir in 1814 and 1819-20<sup>36</sup> made him very popular in the kingdom and his regard in the heart of the Maharaja definitely enhanced.

Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamzai observes that Kashmir's strategic importance was first understood by the British Government after concluding a treaty of friendship and amity with Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Amritsar in 1809.<sup>37</sup> According to the terms of this treaty they agreed to abstain from any interference with the territory of Maharaja situated to the north of the Satluj. The Maharaja agreed to respect the territory and subjects of the chiefs. South of the river. The Maharaja, by means of the terms of the treaty abandoned his dream of establishing supremacy over cis-Satluj territory and paid attention towards expelling the Afghans from the northern districts of the Punjab and reducing Multan, Kashmir and Derajat.<sup>38</sup> The Maharaja after facing two reverses in 1812 and in 1814 wrested the valley out of the hands of Afghans in 1819.<sup>39</sup> During his hostilities with Afghans and smaller principalities upto his death in the year 1839, the Maharaja valued Kashmir not only for its rich yield of revenue but also for its strategic position which fact facilitated the numerous expansionist campaigns that he undertook.<sup>40</sup>

By the Year 1812, Ranjit Singh had an eye to the conquest eventually of the valley of Kashmir. Fateh Khan, the Wazir of Shah Muhammad was on the Indus where he had marched to punish two brothers who held Attock and Kashmir for the help they had given to Shah Shuja. Griffin also gives a detailed account of the valley of Kashmir along with the milieu of political history which is delineated here for proper comprehension of its position. He observes that prior to the beginning of the 13th century Kashmir witnessed the rule of Hindu princes. A Muhammadan dynasty succeeded for two hundred and fifty years. In 1588, Emperor Akbar established a Mughal rule in Kashmir after sending very many expeditions there. The Mughal rule lasted for about one hundred fifty years. The Mughal Emperors from henceforth visited Kashmir annually along with some courtiers. In this way Kashmir was duly attended to under the royal patronage. The Mughal emperors got built beautiful palaces and pleasure gardens. The Mughals were succeeded by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali who conquered Kashmir in 1752. Griffin observes that Afghan rule over Kashmir was more oppressive than that of the Mughals. The Sikhs became the rulers of the country after seventy years.<sup>41</sup>

It goes without saying that Jammu was closely connected with the fortunes of Sukkerchakia Misl though it had no connection with Kashmir of those days. Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh acquired the

city from Raja Brij Lal Deo. It had been governed for thousands of years by a Hindu dynasty which was tributary to the Mughal. It assumed independence after the decline of the Mughals. Albeit, it was a short lived freedom and was overwhelmed by the rising power of the *Mis/Sardars*. It was ruled first by Bhangis and then by Sukarchakias under Maha Singh.<sup>42</sup>

Maharaja Ranjit Singh prepared for the conquest of Kashmir in 1811. The Hill States of Bhimbar and Rajauri were first reduced and the ruling Mohammadan families of Rajput descent were reduced to submission in 1812. The Maharaja then formed an alliance with Fateh Khan, minister of Shah Mahmud of Kabul who had marched across the Indus. He was inclined to reduce Kashmir to submission by expelling its Governor name Atta Muhammad. The alliance was destined to be broken as both the parties preferred their own interest. The alliance was formed under the exigency of the time because no one could dare to march through the hills leaving hostile army behind. General Hari Singh Nalwa was surveying the surrounding strip of the land when Mohkam Chand was placed in charge of the Sikh force. Mohkam Chand marched with Fateh Khan from Jehlam. On reaching Pir Panjal range Fateh Khan, considering that there was no advantage of Maharaja's neutrality, pressed on double marches with his troops. Mohkam Chand did not take notice of his intentions. Moreover, his troops regretted their inability to move on account of heavy fall of snow. Mohkam Chand later on saw through the mal-intention of Fateh Khan but was not disconcerted. He made a promise with the Chief of Rajauri to give him a *jagir* worth Rs. 25,000 if he could help him by showing a pass for reaching the valley at the same time as Fateh Khan. Thus, he was present at the capture of Shergarh and Hari *Parbat* and the subjugation of the valley which task was easily accomplished as the Governor had disappeared and no resistance was offered. Fateh Khan, however declared that the Lahore troops were not entitled for any share. Cunningham writes:

Kashmir was occupied in February 1813, but Fateh Khan outstripped the Sikhs under Mohkam Chand, and he maintained that as he alone had achieved the conquest, the Maharaja could not share in the spoils. The only advantage which accrued to Ranjit Singh was the possession of Shah Shuja's person, for the ill fated king was allowed by Fateh Khan to go whither he pleased, and he preferred joining the Sikh army, which he accompanied to Lahore.<sup>4</sup>

The conquest of Kashmir having been pending, the next strip of the country which attracted the attention of the ruler of Lahore was Attock. The confident generals who earned name and fame by the conquest of Attock were Hari Singh Nalwa, Mohkam Chand, Bhanua Singh, Fateh Singh Ahluwalia etc.

As a matter of fact, the fort of Attock having been considered a gateway of the Punjab by the invader coming from the north east of the river, the fort was held by an Afghan chief Jahandad Khan, the brother of Atta Muhammad Khan, the *Subedar* of Kashmir. It had been sufficiently revealed to Maharaja Ranjit Singh that it was imperative for him to capture the fort of Attock without which the Afghan invasions could not be checked. The defeat of Atta Muhammad from the bounds of the invading Afghan and Lahore troops alerted Jahandad Khan, the *killedar* of the Attock fort who was not in a position to face the invading troops of Shah Mehmud's Wazir Fateh Khan. He corresponded with Ranjit Singh and offered to vacate the fort on the condition of obtaining a *handsome jagir* from him for maintenance. The Maharaja promptly granted the strip of Wazirabad to him and despatched troops under General Hari Singh Nalwa and other Sardars mentioned elsewhere to capture the Fort. The Afghan troops engaged by Jahandad Khan demanded by way of their pay a sum of rupees one lac from the invading army for the evacuation of the Fort. General Hari Singh Nalwa and others agreed to pay the demanded sum and the Fort was thus, released by the Afghan troops.<sup>44</sup>

On hearing of the developments thus taking place, Wazir Khan gathered together different Afghan tribes of surrounding areas to declare *Jehad*. A pitched battle was fought among the troops of Wazir Khan and the Lahore force under General Mohkam Chand, Hari Singh Nalwa, Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Mian Ghausia etc. A historical battle was fought at Hazro or Haidru, a small town situated in vicinity of Attock which resulted in the victory of the Lahore troops. This action was fought on 13th July 1813.<sup>45</sup> It was first time perhaps that the Lahore troops met the Afghans in a pitched battle.<sup>46</sup>

Consequently, the Fort of Attock situated on the Indus highway came in the possession of the ruler of Lahore. It paved the way for the expansion of the territories of Ranjit Singh's kingdom in the North West part of the Punjab. Besides, it established the reputation of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa as it was his tremendous achievement and he was the greatest military success.

After the rains of year 1813, Ranjit Singh commenced preparations for an expedition into Kashmir. In October he, summoned *Jagirdars* and tributors chief. A strict muster was taken and preparations were made to bring an effective artillery into the field as snow lay deep on the Pir Punjal mountains, Ranjit Singh suspended his proposed expedition.

In the 2nd expedition of Kashmir in the year 1814, the Nalwa Sardar led the vanguard along with other generals. He was a person who captured strategic passages of Bahramgalla and by means of forced marches occupied Haripur and Mirpur. Hari Singh Nalwa along with his troops were encircled by the Afghans in the battlefield of Supin. Prinsep has given a detail account of this battle. He writes that the Lahore army reached Rajauri on 11 June, 1814. After consulting the principal officers, it was decided that the main army under the command of Ranjit Singh in person should pursue the Punch route and endeavour to penetrate by the Toshu maidan pass while a strong diversion should be made by Bahramgalla towards Supin in the valley.<sup>47</sup>

A detachment was formed and sent forward on 15th June under distinguished generals. They appeared before the post at Bahramgalla on the 18th and after a little effort, acquired possession of the pass. On 28th, Ranjit Singh reached Punch and found it evacuated. The Maharaja felt the necessity of large depots in Bhimbar and Rajauri.

In the next and final conquest of Kashmir in 1819, General Hari Singh Nalwa's contribution is again conspicuous. His divisions of troops subdued certain important Afghan Chiefs and created a peaceful situation for the ruler of Lahore. He also subjugated Dhamtor and Pakhli. He also captured the fort of Darband. Latif rightly observes that Hari Singh Nalwa, Diwan Bhawani Das Sardar Dal Singh etc., were able to reduce the strongholds in the valley and subjugated those places. In the words of Latif:

The remainder of the year 1819 was occupied in making arrangements consequent on the annexation. The Rajas of Punch and Rajauri having become troublesome. Ram Dayal, the grandson of Dewan Mukham Chand was sent to reduce them to subjection. Zabbar Dast Khan, the Raja of Punch, sent his son to the Maharaja and accepted the terms offered. Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Dal Singh and Dewan Bhawani Das who had been sent to reduce the fort of Darband, in possession of Payenda Khan, and other strongholds in the valley, were successful in the complete subjugation of those places.<sup>8</sup>

Historians agree that in the year 1819, the Lahore ruler organised a strong force consisting of the choicest infantry and cavalry which was divided into three sections. Prince Kharak Singh held the nominal command of the army. Miser Dewan Chand commanded the vanguard of the army and General Hari Singh Nalwa commanded the 2nd attachment while the Maharaja himself commanded the third section for ensuring supplies to the first two divisions. The entire Sikh army gathered in the vicinity of Supin on 18 June, 1819 where Jabar Khan with five thousands men was encamped. A pitched battle was fought and resultingly Prince Kharak Singh made his triumphant entrance into Sri Nagar.

While giving a detailed account of the victory of Kashmir by the Lahore troops, Prinsep writes:

Jabir Khan, who had been left by Muhammad Azim, Governor in Kashmir, was at Supin with five thousand men, to make his stand for the possession of the valley. The troops he had were however raw, the hastily raised, and unable to compete with the disciplined battalions... The Afghans and troops of Jabar Khan fled at once across the mountains towards the Indus, leaving the valley to be occupied without further opposition by

the victorious army of Ranjit Singh.<sup>49</sup>

Akali Phula Singh's troops also wrought havoc in the battlefield. It was so pitched a-battle that many soldiers of the Afghan army came under the encirclement of the Lahore troops. Within moments hundred of Afghans were put to the sword. The Lahore troops were forbidden by Prince Kharak Singh not to resort to loot and plunder.

Amar Nath makes mention of this declaration in the following words:

*Dar Shebr munadi wa nidae aman  
barkshid, dil hae mardam ra ke aq  
zor-e-Afghana. bejan amd n budand,  
krine farbat wa Aram gashtand.*<sup>50</sup>

As a matter of fact the conquest of Kashmir, the verge of Afghan kingdom which has rightly been called the 'focus of Asiatic civilization' made Ranjit Singh the ruler of the whole of the Punjab from the Satluj to the Indus including the strips of land up to Tibet and China.

Nevertheless the defence and organisation of North West Frontier has always been a subject of heated discussion among the paramount powers in India. The unruly and rebellious tribes of central Asia and Afghanistan always availed themselves of the opportunity and created law and order problem in the natural frontier in the North West. Whenever they found Indian Government weak as on the eve of Ranjit Singh's assuming power, menace of the Afghan invasions in the vicinity of the Punjab was a talk of the town. The Afghans had already got hold of Attock, Kashmir, Derajat, Peshawar, etc., which created a headache for the policy of expansion followed by Ranjit Singh as has been explained elsewhere, Ranjit Singh, to start with affected the conquest and made attempts to consolidate them through the local Afghan Chiefs who, as a matter of contract, accepted his sovereignty and became his tributaries. It was only when the Maharaja became doubly sure about his sources and authority, that he proceeded to annex these territories.

General Hari Singh Nalwa excelled himself in almost all the battles he fought and there was no significant battle fought by the Lahore Kingdom in which he did not participate. Such is his case with the mid Indus region battles also which pertain to the battles of Derajat. A campaign for the conquest of Dera Ghazi Khan, dependency of Kabul, was despatched by Ranjit Singh under Jamadar Khushal Singh. The Afghan Governor of the place was ousted and the strips of land given to Sadik Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur on a contract basis. The Nawab was obliged to pay to the ruler of Lahore kingdom a sum of rupees three Lakhs per annum. The Dera was, nevertheless, annexed,<sup>51</sup> After making this contract, Ranjit Singh proceeded to enhance his influence by reducing to submission the Nawab of Mankera. That strip of land included Dara Ismail Khan, Bannu, Tonk, Bhakkar, Leiah etc., etc. These territories were functioning under the Nawab quite independent of the Kabul ruler. The sovereign of Lahore marched against Mankera quite like his father Mahan Singh and grand father Charat Singh. It was in the beginning of 1821 that Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa was a proud participant like other military commanders namely Jamadar Kushal Singh, Miser Dewan Chand, Dal Singh etc. The fort of Bhakkar was occupied without any bloodshed. Troops of Lahore ruler were dispersed in different directions. A division of about 15,000 soldiers subdued the Governor of Dera Ismail Khan, a depute of the Nawab. A detachment of troops subjugated Governor of Leiah and Khangarh. The main army of Lahore pressed for service upon Mankera which is situated in mid of sandy desert. In order to compensate the shortage of water, about 25 wells were dug by the Lahore army for the supply of water. After a period of about 20 days the besieged Nawab attempted to negotiate. The attitude of Lahore army was such that the Nawab found no alternative but to submit. As usual the Maharaja granted a liberal *jagir* to the Nawab of Mankera. Consequently, a vast strip of land situated between Indus and Jhelum was annexed to the Lahore Kingdom.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa marched with another expedition in 1822. It was against a Rajput chief Gulam Ali. A battle known in the annals of history as the battle of Khakha was fought where the Rajput chief

was made a prisoner and despatched to Lahore in tight security. General Hari Singh Nalwa brought to submission various other connected chiefs and tribes thus subjugated by him. It is generally believed that the Maharaja was so pleased with the capability and capacity of General Nalwa that he allowed him to strike a coin in his name in the said territory. However, we do not find any concrete evidence on the point.

The next conquest worthy of mention is the conquests of Pakhli and Dhamtor which added another feather to the rank and file of the Maharaja. It was in year 1822 that Gulab Singh was made *Raja* of Jammu. As a matter of fact, Kassur Singh, the father of Dhian Singh, Chief Wazir of Lahore, having breathed his last in the Jammu hills, the Maharaja created his elder son Gulab Singh as *Raja*.<sup>52</sup> During this time the tribes of Pakhli and Dhamtor revolted and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa to whom these places had been given in *jagirs* was sent at the head of the troops to bring the offenders to book. General Hari Singh Nalwa did the needful and came back to Lahore. Latif is however of the view that the General burnt Pakhli, Dhamtor and thousand of people were rendered hornless.<sup>53</sup> As a matter of fact, Sohan Lal Suri does not refer to such acts on the part of the General and virtually no other evidence is coming forth which can endorse the statement of Latif. Albeit, the fact remains that those distant frontier tribes were unruly and it was not an easy task to subjugate them. It was imperative to take stern measure to control and rule them. Henry Lepel Griffin observes with regard to the expedition of General Hari Singh Nalwa to Pakhli:

Obedience was not easy to Hari Singh for the wild mountaineers to the number of 20,000, opposed his passage, and at Pakhli he was compelled to halt with his force of 7,000 men. Pakhli had long been a spot dreaded by merchants, for the hill men of that place were accustomed to demand a toll on shawl, wood and other Kashmir merchandise. Hari Singh after vain efforts to induce the enemy to yield him a passage, attacked them with vigour, and storming their stockades defeated them with great slaughter. After this he imposed a fine of Rs. 5½ on each house in the district.<sup>54</sup>

The conquest of Peshawar and its consolidation at once remind us how General Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the distinguished Generals of the Lahore Court devoted himself day and night for the cause of Peshawar. Nevertheless, permanent peace in the Punjab was a paramount necessity for the consolidation of kingdom of Lahore and without the acquisition of Peshawar, it was not possible at all. Peshawar had its strategic importance because of its proximity to Kabul and a centre of Afghan activity. Its annexation was a must for Ranjit Singh. Though General Hari Singh Nalwa did not participate in all the expeditions sent by the Maharaja to Peshawar yet he contributed in each and every expedition indirectly by one way or the other.

On account of the murder of Fateh Khan, the Wazir of Kabul in 1818, blood-feuds commenced between the Barakzais and Sadozais resultantly leaving the south eastern frontiers of Kabul adjoining the Punjab quite undefended. Availing of the opportunity, the Maharaja himself marched at the head of a huge force to subdue Peshawar. Of course, he had a galaxy of generals like Hari Singh Nalwa with him. The Afghan Governor named Sultan Yar Muhammad finding himself incapable of facing the enemy in the battlefield, fled away from the town. Consequently, the Lahore troops occupied Peshawar. It is stated that it is for the first time in the eight hundred years' history of the Peshawar that its bazars witnessed a victorious Indian invader. Jahandad Khan was fixed up by the Maharaja as the tributary Governor of Peshawar.

In the year 1822, another Lahore expedition reached Peshawar, chief reason being that Yar Muhammad Khan who was brooding over his exit from Peshawar managed to expel Jahandad Khan the nominee Governor of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sohan Lal Suri argues that on hearing the news of the entrance of Yar Muhammad Khan and his allies in Peshawar, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent stalwarts like General Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Jagat Singh Attariwala and Sardar Dhana Singh Malwai with a force of ten to twelve thousand infantry and cavalry to bring the enemy to book. The Generals who commanded a large force surrounded the enemy from all the four corners but the latter submitted with a handsome *nazrana*. They also offered horses of good breed to Ranjit Singh.

Azam Khan having assumed power in Kabul intended to confirm his position over Peshawar region.

He deemed Ranjit Singh his formidable foe. On hearing that Azam had marched from Kabul at the head of a considerable force, Yar Muhammad and Dost Muhammad evacuated the city with their forces.

Hari Singh Nalwa along with other stalwarts of the Lahore army which included Akali Phula Singh, Miser Dewan Chand etc. etc. marched to Peshawar. Generals Ventura and Allard also marched with their trained detachment to Peshawar when the news of Azam Khan's capture reached Lahore.

Many writers have given details of the battle which took place between the Lahore troops and the Afghans. The sum and substance being the same minor details differ. Cunningham states:

Muhammad Azim Khan disapproved of the presentation of horses to Ranjit Singh by Yar Muhammad Khan, and he repaired to Peshawar in January 1823. Yar Muhammad fled into the Ususfzai hills rather than meet his brother, and the province seemed lost to one branch of the numerous family: but the chief of the Sikhs was at hand, resolved to assert his equality of right or his superiority of power. The Indus was forded on the 13th March, the guns being carried across on elephants. The territory of Khattaks bordering the river was occupied, and at Akora the Maharaja received and pardoned the fugitive Jai Singh Attariwala<sup>53</sup>

Cunningham elaborates:

A religious war had been preached, and twenty thousand men, of the Khattak and Ususfzai tribes, had been assembled by their priests and devotees to fight for their faith against the unbelieving invaders. This body of men was posted on and around the height near Noshahra, but on the left bank of the Kabul river, while Muhammad Azim Khan, distrustful of his influence over the independent militia, and of the fidelity of his brothers, occupied a position higher up on the right bank of the stream. Ranjit Singh detached a force to keep the Wazir in check, and crossed the river to attack the armed peasantry. The Sikh 'Akalis' at once rushed upon the Muhammadan 'Ghazis' but Phula Singh... of Amritsar, was slain.<sup>56</sup>

Cunningham gives a pen portrait of the Afghans in action and their fate when he states that they exultingly marched forward and threw the drilled infantry of the Lahore rule into a state of confusion. They were checked up by the fire of the rallying battalions, by the play of the artillery drawn up on the opposite bank of the river and at length Ranjit Singh's personal exertions with his cavalry converted the check into a victory. The brave mountaineers reassembled after their rout, and next day they were willing to renew the fight under their 'Pirzada', Muhammad Akbar, Albeit, the Kabul Wazir had fled with precipitation. They were without countenance or support. Peshawar was sacked and the country plundered up to the Khaibar Pass. But the hostile spirit of the population rendered the province difficult for retention. The prudent Maharaja gladly accepted Yar Muhammad's tender of submission<sup>57</sup>.

Griffin has given an intensive account of *the jehad* raised by Yusufzai tribes against the Lahore troops which were seen in action in two wings fighting on both the sides of river Kabul. Azam Khan marched with a strong force from Kabul, and, raising the wild Yusufzai tribes in *a jehad* against the Sikhs, met them in battle at Theri near Naushera half way between Attock and Peshawar. It was a critical contest and decided once for all, whether Sikhs or Afghans should rule east of the Khaibar and mountains of the North-West frontier. The Maharaja commanded in person on the left bank of the Kabul river, where the Yusufzais were posted. The Akalis and the Ghazis, the devotees of Islam, met in fair fight which resulted in repulse of the former with the loss of their much feared leader, Phula Singh. Albeit, the Maharaja repulsed the tribesmen while on the other side of the river, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, commanding the main body of the Sikh army, with General Ventura, Jamadar Khushal Singh, and Sardar Budh Singh Sindhanwalia opposed the Afghans tooth and nail under Muhammad Azim Khan, who did not make much of a stand, but retired towards Peshawar.<sup>58</sup>

After the conquest of Peshawar and its acquisition by the Lahore ruler, its settlement was made among the tributary chiefs. The author of *History of Punjab* and of *The Rise, Progress, and Present Conditions of Sect and Nation of Sikhs*, observes that the country was divided into five portions or fiefs between Nawab Sumad

Khan, Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Syed Mohammad Khan and Pir Mohammad Khan, who contracted to send him annually a tribute of horses, rice and fruits. Having affected this arrangement, he returned to his capital.<sup>59</sup>

Syed Muhammad Latif gives some scattered names of the stalwart of the Lahore army who fought devotedly in this battle which include Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Attar Singh, Sardar Dhanna Singh, Diwan Kirpa Ram, Sardar Desa Singh Majithia, Sardar Fateh Singh Ahulwalia, Amir Singh, Rattan Singh Gharjakhia, Dula Singh Malwai, Sada Singh, Naudh Singh, Jai Singh Attariwala, Mahan Singh Akalia etc., etc.<sup>60</sup>

Another battle which brings into limelight the struggle of Hari Singh Nalwa against the Afghans is the fourth expedition of the Lahore ruler in 1827 which battle is known as battle of Saidu in history. Disturbances took place in the trans-Indus area by Syed Ahmed of Bareilly. The Syed declared himself a messenger of the Prophet and gathered together followers from the eastern Province of the East India Company. He instigated various tribes namely Pakhili, Yusufzais, Tirah, Sweat, Buner etc., etc., to proclaim a *jehad* against the Sikhs and recover their strips of land from them.<sup>61</sup> Yar Mohammad made a common cause with them. On hearing of this development Maharaja Ranjit Singh despatched a huge force under General Hari Singh Nalwa. The General marched along with General Ventura, Allard, Budh Singh Sandhanwalia, etc. Their forces wrought a havoc among the Ghazis who fought gallantly. Ultimately *the jehad* was carried on by one Nasir-ud-Din. He succeeded for the time being for recapturing Peshawar which was in the long run taken hold of by the Lahore troops in 1830. Sultan Muhammad, the brother of late Yar Muhammad was made the tributary Governor of Peshawar. Griffin writes that Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa gave a blow to the rising power of Syed Ahmad Bareilly. Griffin sums up the struggle of Syed Ahmed against the Lahore troops:

In the beginning of 1827 Syed Ahmad, Shah roused all the fanatic population of Yusufzai for a holy war against Sikhs- and was joined by the Barakzai Chiefs of Peshawar. Sardar Hari Singh with 25,000 men was ordered to prevent the Syed from crossing the Indus till the Maharaja should arrive with reinforcements. But...halt his force, under Sardar Budh Singh Sandhanwala, crossed the river and entrenched at Saidu where it was surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy... when Ranjit Singh and Hari Singh arrived the army marched to Peshawar, which was pillaged by the Sikhs... The tribute of Peshawar was increased, and the Maharaja carried away with him, as a hostage, the son of Yar Muhammad Khan.<sup>6</sup>

In the year 1834 when civil war was going on in Afghanistan between Dost Muhammad and Shah Shuja, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent General Hari Singh Nalwa alone with French Generals Ventura and Court for the annexation of Peshawar. Accordingly, Peshawar was recaptured on 6th May, 1834. After the annexation General Hari Singh Nalwa was deputed along with the said French Generals to administer the affairs there. After this adventure Dost Muhammad again made a serious attempt to recapture Peshawar but failed.

Griffin has given an exhaustive account of the last struggle of General Hari Singh Nalwa with the Afghans who captured and recaptured Peshawar to attain their independent control there. Griffin writes that, 'Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa remained at Peshawar as commander-in-chief and, in 1836, was ordered to build a fort at Jamrud to command the entrance of the Khaibar Pass. This work was soon finished, of no great strength, but sufficient to over awe the Afridis and annoy any force marching from Kabul. The Amir was furious, and determined to take up the challenge thus thrown before his mountain gateway.<sup>63</sup>

Dost Muhammad despatched a force of 7,000 horse, 2000 matchlock men, and 18 guns from Jalalabad under the command of Muhammad Akbar Khan, three other of his sons accompanying and being joined by some 20,000 tribesmen. They arrived in April 1837, before Jamrud, which was then unprovisioned and garrisoned by only 800 Sikhs. Hari Singh was suffering from fever at Peshawar. The siege continued for six days, when the walls were breached. At last, when hope was almost gone, the great General turned out his garrison from Peshawar 6000 foot, 1000 regular cavalry, and 3000 irregular, and marched to the relief.<sup>64</sup>

For some days the hostile forces lay opposite each other, neither wishing to attack. At length Hari

Singh made a decision for a battle. His advance was, at first, irresistible, and the Afghans broke and fled but the Sikhs carried their pursuit too far, and were overwhelmed by a charge of Afghan horse under Sardar Shams- ud-Din Khan. Hari Singh, seeing a desperate effort could alone retrieve the fortunes of the day, rode with his principal Sardars to the front and by his presence and example encouraged the Sikhs to stand. The day might still have been won, but Hari Singh fell, mortally wounded by two bullets in the side and stomach, and his men, disheartened, fell back under the walls of Jamrud and waited for reinforcements. Those at last arrived when the water and provisions had been exhausted, and there was left no way out for the besieged but to cut their way through the enemy as best they might. But when the news of the Afghan attack first reached Lahore, a large part of the force which had been assembled to do honour to the marriage of Prince Nao Nihal Singh was despatched in all haste. The Prince himself, his father Kharak Singh, General Ventura, Jamadar Khushal Singh, and all *the flowers of* the Sikh cavalry, formed so formidable an array that on their timely arrival at Peshawar, the Barakzai Sardars raised the siege and withdrew without further fighting to Jalalabad.<sup>65</sup> This is how Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa glorified his life for the cause of his country.

## References

1. H.L. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Lahore, 1865, p. 184.
2. Prem Singh Hoti, *Khalsa Raj de Usarie*, Lahore, 1942, p. 185.
3. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab, containing a particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs* (translated from German by Major T.B. Jervis), London, 1845, p. 254.
4. Dewan Amar Nath, *Zafarnamah Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1928, p. 31.
5. Prem Singh Hoti, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 254. Henry T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh...*, Calcutta, 1834, p.99.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 255. It is argued that about the year 1826, Ranjit Singh had shown a great desire to interview the Governor- General. It appears that he there by wanted to produce the impression on the neighbouring chiefs that in the event of his death, the British would recognise his dynasty. (This is not, however, reflected from the historical facts as they took place later on.) Bentinck on the other hand aimed at improving his relations with Ranjit whom he intended to associate with his projects for the free navigation of the Indus. Ranjit had already heard about the English intentions regarding Sindh, and hinted at them several times during his conversation with Governor-General at Ropar. But the latter evaded the question and maintained silence when asked about the object of the English mission on its way to Sindh. Gulshan Lal Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, Hoshiarpur, 1960, p. 44,
9. Henry T. Prinsep, *op. cit.*; p. 126.; Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab...*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 358.
10. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Lahore, 1885-889, pp. 62- 63.
11. J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*, London, 1853, p. 12. Syed Mohammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. H.T. Prinsep, *op. cit.*; p. 49.
18. *Cf. Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. H.L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh (Rulers of India Series)*, Oxford, 1905, p. 182.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

28. H.L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 184; Kanhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Patiala, 1968 (reprint), p. 249.
29. M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 386.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.
31. H.L. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
32. *Ibid.*, pp.185-86.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
34. *Ibid.*, p.187, f.n. 1. Griffin states that Maharaja Ranjit Singh told the traveller Moorcraft that five hundred of the garrison survived and received quarter. This was incorrect. At the time of the last assault there were not 300 fighting men in the fort, and most of these fell at the breach. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 187, fn. I.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
36. H.L. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 185-86.
37. Prithivi Nath Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, p. 553.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 188-89; cf. Prinsep. *op. cit.*, p. 75.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
44. Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Delhi, 1953, p. 123.
45. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
48. M. Latif, *op.cit.*, p. 419.
49. H.T. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
50. 'Zafarnama Ranjit Singh of Dewan Amar Nath quoted by Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Punjabi), Delhi, 1953, p. 156. fn.
51. J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 143.
52. M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p.142.
55. J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 208; Anonymous, *History of the Punjab and of the Rise, Progress and Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), pp. 69-75; Prinsep, *op. cit.*, pp.108-113; Latif, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-430.
56. J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
57. *Ibid.* p.146.
58. L.H. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-09, S.M. Latif *op. cit.*, p. 429.
59. Anonymous, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
60. M Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
62. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 186.
63. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 214.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15.

## Chapter-V

### Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa As A General and An Administrator

Before giving a pen portrait of General Hari Singh Nalwa, it is quite in fitness of things to delineate here the central and provincial structure of the Government in which he functioned.

General Hari Singh Nalwa's mentor, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the pivot of the machinery of the Government. As he was fountain head of the entire authority, judicial, legislative and executive powers lay with him. As a matter of fact, he was a sovereign who was responsible for the internal and external policy of the State. Literally it is said that not even a leaf could stir in the kingdom without his knowledge and discretion. If Luis, the fourteenth could claim 'I am the state', the Maharaja could easily claim that he was the Punjab. Such were the powers of the Master of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa who first appointed him as a personal *khidmitgar* or an attendant. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa gradually attained a V.I.P. position in the kingdom of Lahore and reached the status of a competent commander as well as a capable administrator.

The Maharaja had at his beck and call a number of ministers and counsellors who could advise him in the affairs of the state if the need be. Of course, the Maharaja took into consideration the counsel of his generals like Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Sham Singh Attariwala, Mohkam Chand etc.

The chief *Wazir* in the person of Raja Dhian Singh was the channel through which the whole administration rotated over all the departments of the Government. The foreign affairs department, was, of course, held in high esteem as it could impart advice and suggestions to the Maharaja in peace and war; more particularly on the eve of Campaigns despatched by him to various strips of land.

The office of Commander-in-Chief was another important office. It dealt with the affairs of the army. Hari Singh Nalwa, Dewan Mohkam Chand, and many others held this office from time to time. *Dewan* was another portfolio enjoyed by the Finance Minister of those days. The *Dewan* maintained record of income and expenditure of the State. Land revenue was formed by him. As a matter of fact, this department came into existence in 1808, with the appointment of Dewan Bhawani Das. It was he who was able to introduce a sound financial system in the kingdom.

The portfolio of *Deorbivala* was another important office of the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This office enjoyed coveted position and was given only to those persons who enjoyed the confidence of the ruler. Whosoever was interested to seek the presence of the Maharaja was to get permission from the *deorbivala* chief. This office was concerned with the household of the Maharaja too and the person incharge of this department received handsome presents from different dignitaries. He also performed the function of supervising the royal court, arranged ceremonies, and processions.

A variety of *daftars* regulated the civil and military affairs of the state. As a matter of fact, the whole administration was split up into various *daftars* in 1809. It was Dewan Bhawani Das who organised twelve *daftars* which transacted civil and military business of the state.

General Hari Singh Nalwa was, of course, very much associated with the structure of civil and military departments of the kingdom of Lahore under which he functioned:

*Daftar-i-Maliyat,*

*Daftar-e-Abwab-ul- Tahvilat,*

*Daftar-e-Roznamcha-i- Ikbrajat,*

*Daftar-e-Tanjihat; Daftar-e-Madad-kharach,*

*daftar-e-Roznamcha; daftar-e-Mawajab; Tosha Khana-e-Khas;*

*Tosha Khana-e-Biela.*

The whole administration of the kingdom was at the preliminary stage divided into districts and later on towards the close of the reign in provinces. The province in its own turn was split up into *parganas*. *Parganas* were divided into sub-units called *talukas*. About fifty to one hundred *manzas* formed a *taluka*. Later on the whole empire was divided into four *subas* besides certain tributary principalities which owed their allegiance to the Lahore Court namely *Suba-e-Lahore*, *Suba-e-Multan*, *Suba-e-Kashmir*, *Suba-e-Peshawar*.

Each and every *suba* had a *nazim*. General Hari Singh Nalwa remained *nazim* of Hazara, Kashmir and Peshawar at different times, and earned a favourable reputation. The *nazim* was considered as the direct representative of the centre and the office was conferred on confidential and trustworthy persons. The *nazim* was entrusted with the powers of supervising the affairs of the *Kardars* in the districts and to come in personal contact with the masses for checking up the state of affairs. He also held an appellate court and heard appeals from the district courts. His major duty was to execute the orders of the central government. He commanded various campaigns. He was also responsible for maintaining peace and order in his respective province.

Griffin corroborates his statement regarding the rule of the Lahore sovereign with Ibbetson and quotes him:

In the centre and south-west of the province the Sikh rule was stronger and more equitable. In the earlier days, indeed, previous to and during the growth of the *misl*s, it was nothing better than an organized system of massacre and pillage. But as the Sikhs grew into a people, and a national spirit developed, self-interest if nothing higher prompted a more moderate government. Still, as Sir Robert Egerton recorded, the Sikh population were soldiers almost to a man...<sup>1</sup>

Pages of history reveal that the Maharaja Ranjit Singh remained in touch with the general masses and heard their appeals patiently and sympathetically. In the case of mal-administration in a *suba*, *Nazim* was directly held responsible for it. We have reports of certain provinces where *nazim* did not co-operate with the people and earned the ill-will of the sovereign of Lahore. The *Nazim* in whose province many appeals were made, was taken to task by the Maharaja.

Next to *Nazim* was the *Kardar* who was the incharge of a *pargana* or district. Griffin observes:

The *Kardar* was judicial as well as a fiscal officer. But his fiscal duties were most important. Corrupt judgements, or an insufficient police, were evils which might be overlooked even supposing they excited attention; but a *Kardar* in arrears was an offender almost beyond the hope of pardon. The problem of his life was therefore to maintain cultivation at the highest possible level, and at the same time to keep the cultivator at the lowest point of depression.

The *Kardar*'s services were appreciated by many a contemporary European writers. The *Kardar* performed the services of a revenue collector as a magistrate having direct dealing with the people. He got the revenue properly assessed and was responsible for its collection from the peasants. He also acted as judge and functioned as a custom and excise official. He maintained law and order in his respective area. Nevertheless, he was to implement the orders of the Lahore sovereign. The pay of the *Kardar*, however, differs.

*Manza* was the lowest administrative unit of the state and was administrated by the *Panchayat*. The *Panchayats* were responsible for the welfare of the people and tried both civil and criminal cases throughout the reign of Ranjit Singh. The institution of *Panchayat* remained undisturbed and continued enjoying basic privileges of the ancient time. The city of Lahore, however, enjoyed quite an independent system of administration having been divided into *moballas*. The *Kotwal* can be said to be the administrative chief of the whole city. The *qazi* administered justice to the Muslim population.

As General Hari Singh Nalwa functioned in the same frame work of central and provincial administration it is quite in the fitness of things to elaborate here more vividly the nature of the administration under the Lahore sovereign.

Sita Ram Kohli, a scholar of repute who had been able to probe deeply into the *Khalsa Darbar Record* and studied them thoroughly gives a detailed account of the administration of Lahore.

*Nazims* were appointed for the administration of the provinces of Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar. The *Suba* of Lahore had a special administrative set up. *Kardars* were appointed *pargana-wise*. Later on a *suba* comprised many a *pargana* and *taluqua* and big districts were formed out i.e., districts Kangra, Wazirbad, Gujrat, etc. These districts were infact, considered as small *subas*. The *nazim* had overall responsibility for administering a *suba*, albeit, *Kardar* was the virtual administrator who possessed a thorough knowledge of taluqua he administered. The *Kardar* formed out revenue, collected it and punished the offenders. He also administered justice among the people. He was also responsible for carrying on trade and industry. , He can easily and favourably be compared with the Deputy Commissioner of these days. Every sort of administrative machinery in the district was under his control and supervision. Sita Ram Kohli has referred to many ordinaces depicting his rights and duties. The papers of *Khalsa-Darbar Record* pertaining to *daftar-e-maal*, refer to many such ordinaces. To illustrate the point, one such specimen is given as below:

*Aan-e-ibtidae kharif samvat 1864 (A.D. 1837) B.K. Chaudri Kanhiya bar kardari-c-taulkae Bhimber mamur farmud. Baed ke badn mujab amal saz bashand. Muamla-e-kharif. Samvat 1894 tevil kardin traded ralia Samvat 1895 barkerar wakai darand, abadi-e-riaea wa kbrkhabhi wa fazunie maail sarkar mad nazar darand, char taraf-b-hamrab aan ba rasti wa darusti, husan saluk was salah darand-Oaan che mukadma-e-adalat kalan basha bund arz ba hazur amwar infishal na sazand, wa hisab tauluka-e-mazkur ibitida-e-fasil kharif samvat 1893. (A.D. 1836) lugaet rabia samvat 1894 (A.D. 1837) she fasal az kardaran-e-sabak Narain Das wa Harnam Das fehmida sazand Justju-e-muamla mazkur bajaee khud darand/ anche beoparian maal az zer bala birand was az balae kohistan zer aarand kagaz kra waki wa pukhtgi bayad sakbt. Kawaf taluka mufasal arz rasanad.*<sup>3</sup>

The revenue papers of *Khalsa Darbar Record* reveal the name and pay of the *Kardar* of the *taluka*. The remuneration varied from Rs. 30 to Rs. 150 per month. The pay of the *Kardar* depended upon the amount of the revenue because the comparison of the amount of revenue with the monthly pay of the *kardar* shows that roughly in lieu of an amount of Rupees one thousand of revenue the *kardar* received a remuneration which ranged from one anna to two annas per day. Albeit, this condition did not apply to the pay of the *suba*. The pay of a *nazim* was much higher than that of the *kardar*. Lala Sukhdyal, the *nazim* of Multan received a sum of Rs. 26,000 per annum in the year 1820. General Avitabile received a sum of Rs. 41,000 per annum as his salary at the commencement of his appointment as a Governor of Peshawar. The revenue papers show that Diwan Moti Ram, the Governor of Kashmir received a sum of Rupees, 1,000 per annum. A generalisation can be made from the available revenue papers that the revenue administration of Ranjit Singh was not only mild but also efficient. The accounts of travellers who visited the kingdom of the Maharaja, have mostly appreciated the administration of the provinces and big cities of the time. Some accounts of the contemporary and near contemporary persons or the officials of Maharaja also reveal that the administration was worthy of praise. Sita Ram Kohli claims that he collected the whole range of *farmans* of the reign of the Maharaja pertaining to full one year date wise which depict that sovereign of Lahore was fully acquainted with the daily routine of the officials of the *subas*. An official not functioning in accordance with scheduled rules and regulations, was transferred or removed from his post for some time at least. God blessed the Maharaja with very sharp memory so much so that only one interview or meeting with him was more than sufficient for remembering the name and identity of the person concerned. This was the reason why the officials working in different capacities could not use their own discretion or had their own ways. Sita Ram Kohli has taken a note of a *parwana* wherein Prince Kharak Singh has also been addressed with stern vocabulary. The masses seem to be quite sure about the uncalled for interference of the Government officials. They had sufficiently good economic condition. We can say with certainty that the officials of the Maharaja worked with such sincerity and devotion that after a continuous disturbance of sixty and seventy years, masses came to live peacefully and welcomed the new ways and means of livelihood. Taxes were received in such proportion as could be tolerated by the common folk. The people were in general prosperous in the secular rule established by the mentor of Hari Singh Nalwa. No Punjabi ever felt that the Government was not his. Such were the circumstances, condition and structure of Government in which General Hari Singh Nalwa

functioned in different capacities.

The Nalwa sardars military career having been discussed in a proper prospective, in the previous chapters, we shall now proceed on to his administrative assignments to assess his contribution towards the building up and strengthening the foundation of the Lahore kingdom. It goes without saying that Sardar Hari Singh was a successful administrator who figured in the consolidation of major conquests of his mentor, the Maharaja. Nevertheless, the glory that came his way was mainly on account of his talents of head and heart. He administered the affairs of Kashmir during the years 1820-23. As many as eight governors administered Kashmir under Ranjit Singh. Their tenure is detailed as follows:

Diwan Moti Ram	1819-20
Hari Singh Nalwa	1820-23
Diwan Moti Ram	1823-24
Diwan Chuni Lal	1824-25
Diwan Kirpa Ram	1826-30
Bahama Singh Ardali	1831-33
Kanwar Sher Singh	1833-34
Col. Mehan Singh	1834-41

General Hari Singh Nalwa succeeded Moti Ram as Governor of Kashmir and made his mark as a capable administrator.

The valley of Kashmir about ninety miles long and about forty miles wide is surrounded by lofty mountains and is known for the salubritive climate and the fertility of soil. It enjoyed a number of openings from various directions. There were almost seven passes leading to Kashmir; four from the South, one from the west and two from the north side. Their number, however, rose to twelve. It has been rightly said that the people enjoyed robust health. They were conscientious and hard working but were excessively addicted to pleasure. Various tribes were notorious for their free-lancing activities.

Lieut. Col. Steinbach writes that 'Kashmir or Cashmere, better known to English readers under the latter orthography, is beyond the geographical limits of the Punjab, properly so called, but has been included in the territory by conquest since 1819. It was wrested from the Afghans, in whose hands it had remained for seventy years, by the late Ranjeet Singh, and has continued as an integral part of the state from that period. Kashmir is situated in the North of the Punjab. It may be described as luxuriant, well-watered, valley, surrounded by lofty mountains. The length of the valley is one hundred and twenty miles; its extreme breadth is seventy-five. The upper part of the river Jeylum runs through the vale of Kashmir, which is likewise watered by several broad and beautiful lakes, one of which is twenty miles in length and nine miles in width. The city of Kashmir Siranuggur (a fortified town), stands upon the banks of the Jeylum, which is navigable both below and above. The town itself is a mere wreck, an accumulation of ruins of what once had been palaces, old dilapidated houses, streets of unexamined filthiness; indeed the entire valley everywhere presents evidences of faded splendour. Earthquakes, and the despoiling hand of man have combined to reduce to a shapeless heap of ruins, edifices that, previous to the Mahomedan invasion, must have rivalled in their size, magnificence and very peculiar architecture of black marbles, the massive structures of which Egypt and ancient Greece present so many traces.'<sup>4</sup>

Hari Singh Nalwa inherited very shabby circumstances in Kashmir when he succeeded Moti Ram. Sohan Lal Suri gives a very authentic picture of the province in his *Roznamacha*. He refers to a report given by Diwan Devi Das when he presented himself before the Maharaja after visiting Kashmir during the Governorship of Diwan Moti Ram. Sohan Lal Suri states that Diwan Devi Das revealed before the ruler of Lahore that the scarcity of good grain in Kashmir had crossed all limits and corn was selling at the rate of 4 to 5 seers per rupee. The inhabitants were selling their children on account of starvation. The revenues were also not settled so far. The progress in agriculture, trade and industry was badly hampered. Punjabis were quite

ignorant of the language of Kashmir and did not rely on one another. Consequently all the factories in Kashmir were closed. Diwan Moti Ram was trying to handle the situation in the proper way but his efforts were dashed to the ground.<sup>5</sup> Resultantly, the Maharaja hastened to take a number of relief measures.

Nonetheless, Hari Singh Nalwa saw Kashmir in a bad shape economically, socially and politically and geared up the whole administration to bring the state of affairs not only to the normalcy but also to introduce useful reforms. His major contribution lies in liberating the agriculturists from the evil practice of *begar*.<sup>6</sup> The tiller was made the owner of the land. As a result of his efforts, the peasants put heart and soul in cultivating the land. Thick hedges around the whole valley obstructing the passages were all removed because the Government's share of land revenue was decreased. Taxes on grazing were considerably reduced. Many inhabitants of Kashmir who had shifted their residences from their native country felt obliged to come back. However, Hari Singh Nalwa's mentor, the Maharaja got established for Kashmiris, colonies in the Punjab for providing relief to them at the moments of exigency. The Nalwa Sardar also paid considerable attention towards promoting industry in Kashmir. Loans in cash and kind were granted for enhancing the progress of shawl industry.<sup>7</sup> Wool industry which was in a state of downfall during the Afghan, rule received impetus. Paper industry was also revived. A wide variety of paper began to be manufactured. Marketing system also received a fillip in the valley of Kashmir. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa brought about major reforms in the weights and measures and discontinued unstandardized weights. Reasonable financial assistance was provided to the Industrialists. The growing of saffron in the valley was an other achievement of Hari Singh Nalwa. Sufficient land was utilized for growing and cultivating saffron.

Sohan Lal Suri observes that the Maharaja, like other Mughal practices appointed *nazims* and diwans in every province which served as a check on each other. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa's administration of Kashmir is generally criticised as futile and stern but again this opinion does not bear any testimony which needs elaboration. Some writers like Prinsep and Latif state that Hari Singh Nalwa's administration of Kashmir was not conducive to the welfare of the people and was tyrannical.<sup>8</sup> But all this does not hold the test of scrutiny.

Suffice it is to point out here that the best way to assess an administrator is to test his activities on the touch stone of historical events as they took place. We do not find any such data which may prove that the Nalwa Sardar's administration did not suit the circumstances and conditions of time. Lepel Griffin writes that 'in 1820 he was appointed Governor of the conquered province in the room of Diwan Moti Ram, who was thought too gentle a ruler for the rude and unsettled population. Hari Singh did not err on the side of leniency. He ruled with strong hand. Diwan Amar Nath, a son of reputed noble of the court of Ranjit Singh and a close associate of the functionaries of the Lahore court categorically states that the Maharaja appointed Hari Singh Nalwa as Governor of Kashmir on the petition and appeal of Diwan Moti Ram. He was predecessor of the Nalwa Sardar. Diwan Moti Ram was facing unavoidable circumstances at home and was deeply interested in relinquishing his charge as the Governor of Kashmir. Griffin's observation that the Diwan was 'thought too gentle a ruler for the rude and unsettled population' is partially true. Though the population of the border territory of Kashmir was rude and unsettled yet the administrators tried their best to bring them round and create peaceful conditions. We see that a number of governors who undertook the administration of Kashmir could not create more peaceful and constructive conditions conducive for a peaceful living and Hari Singh's administration cannot be considered as unworthy of an administrator. Rather his administrative measures very briefly described above depict that his was a golden era in the history of Sikh administration in the valley of Kashmir.

We see that the Governors of Kashmir under Ranjit Singh and even the administrators before and after him faced various hardships. Ranjit Singh on his own part, had to change the Governors from time to time. We take here a sum total of a few Kashmir Governors to prove that General Hari Singh's era of Governorship of Kashmir was a period of peace and progress.

Diwan Moti Ram's administration of Kashmir in the first term was, of course, mild but cannot be called a very useful tenure of office. Diwan Moti Ram after all, toed the line of General Hari Singh during his second Governorship and undertook agricultural reforms. Another Governor Diwan Chuni Lal appointed one Gurmukh Singh as Chief Collector of revenue. He virtually reduced the portfolio to a non-entity. His acts of omission and commission motivated the Maharaja to recall the Diwan as well as the revenue Chief collector. Similarly Diwan Kirpa Ram was called back by the Maharaja as he could not do well in Kashmir. During his time the administration was in a way handed over to one Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din who too did not fare well. Moreover, the Earthquake of 1828 and the Cholera epidemic in the Kashmir valley arrested administrative activity. G.T. Yigne states that the Maharaja took Kirpa Ram to task for his delinquencies.<sup>9</sup> At a time under the *nazimship* of Kanwar Share Singh, the Maharaja appointed Jamadar Khusal Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Sheik Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din but the three remained unsuccessful in improving the circumstances of Kashmir.<sup>10</sup>

Coming to General Hari Singh Nalwa, we may safely say that he undertook a number of socio-religious reforms in the valley of Kashmir. The author of *Guldasta-e-Kashmir* writes that the Nalwa Sardar was able to remove certain obstruction imposed under the Afghan rule upon the Brahmans of Kashmir in respect of their religion and mode of living.<sup>11</sup> Many Hindu converts to Islam were welcomed to Hinduism. General Hari Singh Nalwa was also able to establish certain new colonies of Hindus and Sikhs. He will also be remembered in the annals of Sikh History as a lover of his faith. He got built certain Gurudwaras at historical places to immortalise the visits of Sikh Gurus. These Gurdwaras included the Gurdwaras at Baramula, Srinagar, Matan etc.<sup>12</sup>

It is quite in the fitness of things to point out that it is always better to examine the original facts available on the issue of the nature of administration given by an individual authority. General observations may not take us too far to arrive at an accurate conclusion. Whereas statements against General Hari Singh's rule are found on the pages of history, there is no dearth of writings in his favour as well which make imperative for us to go into the details of the administration by way of the concrete steps taken by him. In this way we can apply a real and practical yard-stick, to the work rendered, the like we have discussed above in the shape of reforms introduced and solid steps taken by the Nalwa Sardar to streamline the administration.

Baron Charles Hugel argues that the people seemed to be contented with the justice dealt out to them. The dreadful cruelties perpetrated by their earlier rulers who for the smallest offence punished them with the loss of their nose or ears, made the poor Indians well satisfied with their little oppression on the part of their governors.<sup>13</sup>

The reforms introduced by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa in the valley of Kashmir are worthy of appreciation although his tenure of office had the elements of prosperity and adversity both. Natural calamities<sup>14</sup> and barriers apart. But there is no denying the fact that his administrative measures too patronised the Kashmiris, the line of general action adopted by his mentor who was benevolent despot.

In the light of the above we may say that the *Suba* of Kashmir was not only conquered with the extraordinary attempts made but Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa also made it a very useful province for the kingdom of Lahore. Tradition holds that the Maharaja was so pleased with the administrative measures taken by the Nalwa Sardar in the valley of Kashmir that he allowed him to issue coins.<sup>15</sup> The controversy of issuing of the coins apart, the fact remains that the prestige of the Nalwa Sardar was considerably raised in the eyes of the sovereign of Lahore by the administrative achievements of the Sardar.

The conquest and administration of Hazara-is another mile stone in the career of General Hari Singh Nalwa. In fact he was one of the right hand men of the Maharaja who brought to submission the Muslim border tribes though with much hardship.

Hazara situated at the feet of the Himalayas in the North West of the Punjab covered the territories of Mansehra and Haripur including the strip of land called Tanawal. The whole district comprised roughly 3,062 square miles. Before the conquest of Hazara by the Mentor of General Hari Singh Nalwa, there was no regular revenue system in practice. It was Diwan Mul Raj, the administrator of this district who made an attempt to organise the revenue collection in a systematic manner. General Hari Singh Nalwa who was then appointed as the *Nazim* of Kashmir was sent to Hazara to reduce the country to thorough submission.<sup>16</sup> In the achievement of this hard task. General Hari Singh Nalwa faced several hardships. Nevertheless, it was an uphill task to control the war like mountaineers. The Nalwa Sardar put in complete three years in controlling the tribes and restoring peaceful conditions. The valley of Hazara presented picturesque scenery, mountain stream. It also presented diversity of people.<sup>17</sup> *Memoirs of the Geographical Survey of India*, observes that Hazara 'may be described geographically as a section of the earth's crust coming within the area of Himalayas disturbance.'<sup>18</sup>

Griffin has given some stray information about the activities of the Sikhs at Hazara and how it came under the influence of Ranjit Singh. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa seems to have been always present on the eve of most of the historical events which took place during the conquest and consolidation of this district.

Griffin observes that the conquest of Peshawar and hill country of Hazara was a difficult and lengthy operation, costing the Lahore sovereign much in terms of money, officers and troops. However the Muhammadan tribes over there did not possess the capability of organisation and combination for which the Maharaja was so Conspicuous. He was able to subdue separately the tribes which united might have successfully resisted him. A Muslim leader of genius was required who could assemble his co-religionists under the green flag of the prophet and to found in the Northern Punjab, a Muhammadan Kingdom to rival and counter balance the Sikh monarchy, at Lahore.<sup>19</sup> A few fanatics like Syed Ahmad Shah, at the head heterogeneous assemblies of mountain warriors, provided at times an infinity of trouble and declared a holy war against the Sikhs albeit, their fierce enthusiasm burned out as quickly as straw and they could only destroy and not build up. The victory rested as it was bound to rest, with the strong Sikh people directed by the persistence of their great Maharaja, slow and sure, and irresistible as the rising tide.<sup>20</sup>

Griffin further argues that as we approached the North West Frontier and the mountain ranges, the percentage of Hindu residents continually diminished. In the frontier districts, the inhabitants were mostly Muslims. Of course the trader and money-lenders were exceptions who were almost always Hindus, and who flourished even in the cities of Central Asia. Many of the Muslim tribes were of great significance and special mention might be made of the Ghakkars, Jodrahs, Janjoahs, Awans, Tiwanas, Sials, Kharrals, Khattars, Ghebas and Khokhars who inhabited the plain country west of Lahore or the broken and hilly regions situated between the Indus and Chenab rivers.<sup>21</sup>

All the Muslim chiefs and nobles fell, one by one under the supremacy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and by the year 1820 his power might be said to have consolidated and absolute throughout the whole Punjab proper from the Satluj to the Indus. To the South it was opposed by the British Protectorate, and in the North by the Afghan rulers of Kabul who claimed by right of conquest and in the name of Ahmad Shah Durani and Tirmur, the sovereignty of Northern India. <sup>22</sup>

The work of subduing the fierce Mussulman tribes of Hazara who had given frequent trouble was a very difficult matter. The Sikhs were never fond of hill fighting, while the Afghans and Yusufzais were much more familiar in fighting on the hill sides than in plains. Their national system of attack had been developed by the wild and mountainous nature of the country in which they fought. As a matter of fact, Sardar Hukam Singh Chimni, who had been in 1814 appointed to the command of Attock and Hazara, after he had by a brilliant feat of arms driven the Afghans out of the Attock fortress was a brave soldier. His arbitrary ways and particularly his hanging of a rich and influential chief Syed Khan roused the whole country side which situation urged Ranjit Singh to recall him and appoint Diwan Ram Dyal in his place. Prince Sher Singh as a nominal commander along with Diwan Ram Dayal and a Fateh Singh Ahulwalia marched forward through

the hills and arrived at the Fort of Gandgarh where the tribes of Yusufzai and Swat had taken positions to oppose them. The Sikhs were outnumbered and the tribes gained confidence by the victories more than one. The fight lingered on throughout the day when the Sikhs having exhausted retired to their entrenchments. Dewan Ram Dayal with a small personal escort was among the last to leave the battlefield. The enemy having been segregated from the main body made an assault on him. Resultantly, he was killed with his men.<sup>23</sup>

The loss of Diwan Ram Dayal was a shot in the arm for the Lahore troops but there were good officers to take his place, chief of whom was Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Budh Singh Sandhanwalia, the Maharaja's cousin. Anyhow, he was succeeded in the Governorship of Hazara by Sardar Amar Singh, a Majithia Sardar, who was not more fortunate than Ram Dayal and was killed by the Dhund and Tarin tribes in more or less the same manner. The city and province of Peshawar became tributary to the Maharaja in 1823. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, commanding the main body of the Sikh army, with General Ventura, Jamadar Khushal Singh and Sardar Budh Singh Sandhanwalia offered stiff resistance to the Afghans under Muhammad Azim Khan who did not make much of a stand and retired towards Peshawar.<sup>24</sup>

From the time onwards, Hazara, Peshawar and the frontier districts were a constant source of trouble and expense to the Maharaja. In frequent conflicts with the Barakzai chiefs and the untamable and fanatical tribes, he lost many of his best officers and troops. Griffin writes that the situation was aggravated by the appearance of a religious leader, Syed Ahmad Shah, a Muslim of Nasirabad in the North-Western Provinces who with a purpose of defending his creed and co-religionists against Sikh attacks emigrated to the Peshawar hill country and preached *a jehad or* holy war against them. Griffin argues that during the time of their supremacy, the Muhammedans had persecuted the Sikhs and defiled their temples and then the day of vengeance had come when the men of Islam were rolled in the dust by the triumphant followers of Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>25</sup> Griffin's observation may not be cent percent correct as we know that the mission behind the campaigns of the Lahore sovereign was territorial aggrandizement and politically motivated actions i.e. attaining political sovereignty.

Moreover, the Maharaja's reign was purely of secular character and the army comprised of a composite element in which many a Muslims also performed their duties loyally. Furthermore, as already said that the battles of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were fought for the expansion of the Empire and the conquests were made in accordance with the custom of the time. There was no question of any religious vengeance. The battles in N.W.F. were fought to seal the border from the onslaught of the foreign elements. Those battles were never meant or fought for the sake of any religious motive.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa took the charge of Hazara as its Nazim in early 1822 when the law and order situation was at its lowest ebb. Internecine conflicts among the different frontier tribes had made confusion worse confounded. The Nalwa Sardar adopted certain wise and sagacious measures to control the disturbed state of affairs.

He introduced a system on the oriental pattern whereby the residents of surrounding villages were asked to compensate for the malpractice within their jurisdiction. This yielded vital results by way of providing protection to life and property. Dacoity and theft were thoroughly checked up and peaceful condition prevailed. Those who co-operated with the new administration were given incentives and others were duly punished.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa got built a fort named after the eighth Guru of the Sikhs. The town populated by him in the vicinity of the Fort was at a distance of about half a mile and was named Hari Pur.

Baron Charles Hugel observes on his visit to the town in 1833 that 'Half a mile from Kishengurh is Haripoor, surrounded by mud walls, which are fast falling to decay: it seems a place of no great importance from without, yet it has a large and densely crowded population; and a respectable bazaar. It had the largest town I had seen in Ranjit Singh's territories in this direction. The streets were full of life, and the shops

glittered with everything to delight an Indian's taste.<sup>26</sup>

Necessary steps were taken up to make the barren land fertile by digging up major and small canals in the region. Road building, which was quite an arduous task gave an easy access to the Hazara strip of land.

In order to obtain good fighting condition, forts at strategic places like Dhamdhhor and Darband were got constructed and other like that of Naushehra were renovated by the Nalwa Sardar. Conditions, conducive for the welfare of the Muslims and Hindus were created. A mosque and a temple at Haripur Hazara were constructed with a broad out look.

We may say by way of conclusion that the measures taken up by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa for consolidating the Hazara strip of land were beyond doubt imperative and depict his capacity and acumen. Hazara being quite unruly at the preliminary stage, the mentor of Hari Singh did not meet with much success. Nazims like Makhan Singh, Ram Dayal, Amar Singh Majithia all died heroically fighting against the frontier tribes of Hazara. Even the policy of reconciliation and modesty did not bring fruit and Mai Sada Kaur and Kanwar Sher Singh could not yield the desired results. Ultimately, it was Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa who was able to put an end, though not very thoroughly to the free-lancing activities of the tribal people. He brought to submission the Ghakhar tribesmen. He put to sword about 2000 tribal folk out of their heavy force of 25000 men with a small strength of about 700 troops killing as many as 2000. The Taran Chief who was able to assemble under his flag a mass of tribes men slipped away but later on was caught and executed. General Hari Singh Nalwa was successful in subjugating some unruly tribes of Hazara and N.W.F. and brought about peaceful living conditions. He met with that success which was almost similar to that achieved by the British afterwards.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa's main contribution as a general and an administrator lies in the fact that he showed remarkable wisdom in tackling the complex and vital problem of unification of the Punjab. The baffling problems of North West Frontier took most of his precious time. He showed gallantry and wisdom in conquering and consolidating territories, including Multan, Peshawar, Derajat, Tonk, Bannu and the countries situated from Mithankot along the right bank of Indus to the hills of Bajaour.

The marshal concerns of the Nalwa Sardar having been discussed elsewhere in the previous chapters, we will now take up the consolidation and administration of Peshawar in which region he died fighting to the last breath. As a matter of fact, the significance of conquest of Peshawar lies in the fact that it affected a revolution in the history of India by putting to end the long sequence of on slaughts from the North-West. The conquerors from the North. West took away Indians as spoils of war for selling in the markets of Ghazni and Kandhar. Mahmud of Ghazna defeated Raja Anagpal in the early 11th Century which unfortunate historical event was followed by an endless chain of invasions which reduced the golden sparrow to a miserable creature. India was looted and plundered by the foreign invaders to their hearts' content. The saying, *Khada peeta labai da, rebnda Ahmad Shabae da* sums up the feeling of the people of the Punjab on the eve of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The pathetic state of affairs witnessed by Indians and more particularly by the Punjabees came to an end when by conquering Peshawar, Hari Singh Nalwa rolled back the wave of invasions for ever and for ever and successfully carried away battle into the very homes of the invaders. To annex Kabul was certainly fraught with danger. The proposals coming forth from persons like Hari Singh Nalwa were positively pregnant with danger. No aid would have been made available beyond the Khaibar. It was a shrewd act to control the passes. By doing so, not only the Punjab, the homeland of the Sikhs was safeguarded but the conquests in the far flung interior region enhanced the glory of the kingdom of the Punjab established by Ranjit Singh.

Peshawar remained tributary under General Hari Singh's mentor from the years 1823 to 1834. It was annexed to Lahore kingdom on 7th May, 1834. After the battle of Naushehra in March, 1823 a force consisting of not less than 1200 troops remained on guard at Peshawar under General Hari Singh Nalwa, who was the chief civil and military care-taker there, virtually Hari Singh Nalwa stationed at Peshawar till his death

in 1837.

Peshawar about 14 miles east of the entrance of the Khyber Pass had a commanding mud fort situated in close proximity to the city which was got constructed by the Lahore troops after the battle of Naushera in 1823 on the ruins of the Bala Hissar.

Peshawar was in fact the land of orchards of pear, plum, apple, pomegranate, etc. The country having fertile black undulated soil was well-watered. The banks of lakes and streams looked beautiful and enchanting. Tamarish trees, dates, grapes, melons, figs, oranges grew abundantly. On the eve of the historical occupation of Peshawar, the city was roughly five miles in circumference and had a population of nearly one lakh people. General Avitabile who governed Peshawar from 1838-42 got constructed a mud rampart around the city about 15 feet high and 100 feet thick with 16 gates.<sup>27</sup>

Though not much difference was noticed in tribal organisation after 1834 but the fact remains that the Nalwa Sardar took concrete steps to improve the State of affairs at Peshawar during the tenure of his office as *nazim*. Hindus who were in minority and Muslims in majority were directed to live peacefully. *Jizya* paid by non-Muslims was abolished which step was most welcomed by the non-Muslim population. Defensive measures were taken at the outset to safeguard the holdings by surveying the whole strip of territory. Constructing of forts and renovating them at the strategic places were other measure to ensure proper safeguard. Land was given to the native inhabitants on contract basis for cultivation. They were provided relief measures by digging of wells, canals etc. The increase in produce led a long way to enhance peace and prosperity.

Many writers help us in grasping the reforms undertaken by General Hari Singh Nalwa in Peshawar which include restraining the Afghan tribes from acts of malpractices, crushing of robbers and thieves with stern hands. The old system of supervision in vogue in medieval India was renewed by which the inhabitants of a place where a crime was committed were held responsible. This created fear and terror in the minds of the criminal folk and helped restoring peace and order.

Misir Hari Chand Qadryar's *Si-Harfian* and Sahai Singh's *Var* stand by us in good stead in understanding all the ins and outs of General Hari Singh Nalwa's activities and the circumstances prevailing in those times. Accordingly, this material is given in appendix for the benefit of the readers.<sup>28</sup>

## Reference

1. L.H. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of India Series), Oxford, 1905, p. 148.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
3. Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Delhi, 1953, p. 212.
4. Colonel Lieut. Steinbach, *The Punjaub: Being a Brief Account of the Country of the Sikhs...*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), pp. 6-7.
5. *Soban Lal Suri, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Lahore, 1885-89, p. 261.
6. R.K. Parmu, 'History of Sikh Rule in Kashmir', quoted Madhvi Yasin in *Kashmir under Ranjit Singh; Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Politics, Society and Economy*, Patiala, 1984, p. 164.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh...*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint).p. 302; Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab...*, Lahore, 1889, p. 421.
9. G.T Vigne, 'Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardu', Vol II, p. 282quoted Madhvi Yasin, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
10. Madhvi Yasin, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
11. Quoted *Ibid.*, p. 165.
12. Madhvi Yasin, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
13. Baron Charles Hugel), *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs*, Patiala, 1970, p. 355.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 405.Hugel states: '... calamity, like the famine which has visited Kashmir, at one swoop so reduces a country, that it never again recovers its former state of prosperity. We may easily imagine that the produce of each province has been brought down long since to the minimum.'
15. Prem Singh Hoti, *Khalsa Raj de Usarie*, n.p.,1942, pp. 184-92. For the controversy of the issue of coins in Kashmir see, G.S. Nayyar, *Life and Accomplishments of 'Sardar Hari Singh. Nahwa*, Amritsar, 1993, pp. 51-52.
16. Hari Ram Gupta, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, Hoshiarpur, 1956, p. 25.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Memoirs of the Geographical Survey of India, Vol. XXVI by C.S. Middlemiss quoted A.S-Sandhu, *General Hari Singh Nahwa: Builder of the Sikh Empire*, New Delhi, 1987, p. 27.
19. L.H. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99.
20. *Ibid.*, p.199.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
26. Barren Charles Hugal, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
27. Hari Ram, Gupta, *op. at.*, p.2.
28. Qadar Yar's *Si-Harfian of Sardar Hari Singh Nahwa* are so informative that those can safely be taken as indispensable material.

Appendix-I

**Qadryar's**  
**Si-Harfian Hari Singh Nalwa**  
**Jang Peshaur Singhan te Pathana di**

- Alafus alakh nu Yaad rakhiye  
Jebra kakh ton lakh banaawda jee  
Murde dilan nu pallan vich sber karda  
Jadon mehar di boond vasawanda jee  
Takhton vakhat te sakhteon nek bakhti  
Ohda ant hisaab na awanda jee  
Qadryaar hai sukh vichaar de vich  
Jiwein aap hai Nanak farmaawanda jee.* 1.
- Afaf os jebaa nabin hor koi  
Yaaro osda karna dhiaan changa  
Jeende jee zabaan theen oho nikle  
Dhian osde vich marjaan changa  
Te chori kolon changa mang khana  
Yaaro mangane ton mauhra khaan changa* 2.
- Qadryaar changi gall changian chon  
Aippar sab ton osda gyam changa.  
Be bahut sultan jahan andar  
Aali-shan vadde shah-zor ho gaye  
Faraaon shaddad ne bagh laya  
Pallan pawande vangar mor ho gaye.  
Jadon chor kaza da aan paya  
Rang tinan de hor de hor bogaye  
Qadryaar samiyen sabh rabe eithe  
Te banan wale vich gor ho gaye.* 3.
- Te tamam ausaaf insaan vichon  
koi nabin bahaduri tul main  
Jehda mard hath hoar ho sard jaave  
Rang zard basant da phull mian  
Tabqueek oh mard nabin hejda hai  
Gall bareek naa jaawani bhull mian.* 4.
- Qadryaar babaadari mull paandi  
Jadon a jaandi sir te jhull mian.* 5.
- Se saabti sun ke bahaduran di  
Dil peengh da aish ulaariyan vich  
Rooh khushi de naal wasaal karda  
Aashique mast jeenum khial piyarean vich  
Ranjit Singh Sarkaar de afsarran nu  
Ditha nazar mein paa ke sareyaan vich* 6.

*Qadaryaar bahaduran vich chamke  
Hari Singh jeeun chan satarian vich.  
Jeem jang jaa vadda ataai dulla  
Jaane kboob ladai de dhang mian  
Jurat furat us tez palang waali  
Howan soorme dekb ke dang mian  
Chore ho aswaar talwaar farda  
Chardaa aa gulnar da rang main  
Qadaryaar langotia yaar goobda.  
Rabinda nit sarkar de sang mian.*

7.

*Seen sukh de vich jad muddat guzri  
Maharaj ne mulk val dbain keeta  
Aake babut chir sukh da ho chaakar  
Jereda eis de vich ghaltaan keeta  
Aggon een na eis di mansaan mein  
Pukhta dil de vich paimaan keeta  
Qadaryaar darbar lagawane daa  
Maharaj ne chakk fannaan keeta*

15.

*Sheen shauq de nall tiar ho ke  
Aaye singh sardar daler yaaro  
Samman burj vich aake baith jaande  
Maharaj de chaar chuferr yaaro  
Singh soorme chitarian vaang chattar  
Maharaj chulle vich sher yaaro  
Qadaryaar hai sهران ne maas khana  
Gall samjhano karo na der yaaro.*

16.

*Saad saaf eih ball maloom meinu  
Maharaj ne sukhan alaaya jee  
Tusan ghaazian siran dian bazian laa  
Saadda naamna shokh karaya jee  
Muzaffar Khan pathan Multan wala  
Zaraa taab naa tusan di liaye jee  
Qadaryaar Kashmir nu maar ke te  
Eih mulk Punjab vadbaaye jee.*

17.

*Zuad zarur hai dil di murad meri  
Zaraa hor uchchi guddi charhaiye jee  
Shah Mahmud pathan hai tan wala  
Zaraa os nu chall vangaariye jee  
Rahsi vich jaban de naam yaaro  
Maran maarnon mool na haariye jee  
Qadaryaar chal Attock nu gaaban paa ke  
Siddha jaa Pashaur nu maariye jee.*

18.

*Toye talab meinu us sormme di  
Jehda bida Pashaur da aan chukke.  
Laike fauj dariya di mauj vaangun  
Siddha jaa nazdeeq pathan dhuke  
Ban juan te teer kamaan far ke*

*Vaang Qile de vich maidaan thuke  
Qadaryaar kartaar nu yaad kar ke  
Maran maarano zaraa naa jaan ukke.* 19.

*Zoye zaabara nittariya mittar piyara  
Hari Singh daler sardar yaaro.  
Naal taur Pashaur da chukke beeda  
Rakhiya munh vichkaar yaaro  
Be-jhak uthake zimeen utton  
Baddhi lak de naal talwaar yaaro  
Qadaryaar Pashaur de marrne nu  
Hari Singh ho giya tiar yaaro.* 20.

*Ein aajzi de naal araz sun lau  
Hari Singh sharma ke boliya jee.  
Tere kadmaan di khak ton lak waari  
Asaan jindari piyari nu gholia jee.  
Utte rabb rabeem hai guru sachcha  
Heth zimeen te tusan nu tolia jee  
Qadaryaar haan aseem mureed pakke  
Eis vaste haal nu folia jee.* 21.

*Ghain garaz eiba naale faraz eiba.  
Hor maraz eiba Mainu ladan deo  
Chaar roz daa rang jahan utte  
Lai kamaan hun jang te chadan deo  
Bali Guru Gobind Singh yaarr kar ke  
Aj jaan nu tali te dharan deo  
Qadaryaar yaa maran maidaan de vich  
Yaa ke fateh Pashaur nu karan deo* 22.

*Fe farak naa laran vich zaraa aave  
Vaang barak de kadak ke badhaanga mein  
Saj-dhaj jeon titon chare badal  
Tivein gajj ke jang te chadhaanga mein  
Vaang sber de ho daler yaaro  
Hath vich shamsber nu fadaangaa mein  
Qadaryaar rabb waali mwaalian daa  
Naal zor Pashaur vich vadaangan mein.* 23.

*Kaaf kadi na mooh te sifat karie  
Maharaj ne hass pukaariaa jee.  
koi dam Labore vich maan maujaan Saada kam  
tun babut savaariaa jee  
Sialkot ik chot de naal leya  
Fer jaa Dhamtaur nu maareya jee  
Qadaryaar Hazzaare nu maar ke te  
Pair pakhhali vich pasaareya jee.* 24.

*Gaff gine nabi jawande kam tere  
Keeti tam tu naal talwaar piyaare  
Jangi sber dalerr muh fer deivan*

Nangi kare jaan tegh di dhaar piyaare  
Dastaar, raftaar, guftaar, soni  
Tere jiha koi virla sawaar piyaare  
Qadaryaar hai tun sajjii hanh meri  
Jaane aap sachhaa kartaar piyaare. 25.

Laam lut lai mauj bahar koi chir  
Chaar roz da hai jahaan singh jee  
Nahin maal di kujh parwaah tianu  
Naal aish din karo gujran singh jee  
Koi roz sareerr nu sukh deeo  
Babut dukh jhalla teri jaan singh jee  
Qadaryaar kise hor soorme nu  
Dio ladan hun vich maidaan singh jee. 26.

Meem mukh teen kai sardar bole  
Hath rakh talwaar di muth utte  
Aseen naal pathana de laraange jee  
Jaake tor Pashaur di guth utte.  
Shah mehmud nun mar ke par karie  
bhaven haue aswar oh uth ute  
Qadaryaar naa pichchaan nu murange jee  
Zakham Khanwasaan naa kadi puth utte. 27.

Noon nahin eib baat manzoor meinu  
Hari Singh ne fer bayan keeta  
Oos sukhan te deyaanga mein pehra  
Jehadaa aap aij naal zabaan keeta  
Thuk satt ke chatt da kaun koi  
Eh kam taan nahin shaitan keeta  
Qadaryaar odak khak ral jana  
Kheddi gall de vall dhian keeta. 28.

Vaao vaaste rabb de karo kirpa  
poora karan deo mera dharam meinu  
Tere charanaa ch maran de kaarne jee  
Sachche sahab ne ditta hai janam meinu  
Jekar ladan theen tusi hun mod deso  
Tor maran teekan rahasee varam meinu  
Qadaryaar karo karam turdeaan te  
Pichche mdeaan aundi a sharam meinu. 29.

He hai guftaar manzoor teri  
Sarkaar khanghoor farmaaya jee  
Aish isbrat de phullan daa ghat sehra  
Tera hauslaa asaan azmaya jee  
Saaj sang te rang Mahaal chhad ke  
Val jang tera chit chaaeya jee  
Qadaryaar daler koi waang tere  
Mere dekhane vich na aaeya jee

Ye yaad vadeaai bhagwaan kar ke

Lagga karan sardar chadhai yaaro 30.  
 Dekho vich pathna de ghar jaa ke  
 Lagga karan juaan ladaai yaaro.  
 Dhum pae ai vich jahan saare  
 Lage Khalse karan chndhai yaaro  
 Qadaryaar pathan sun agg boe  
 Tape tel jeeu vich kndhaai yaaro. 31.

### Si Harfi Dom

Alaf aan beean pathan karnan  
 Naal dhian de kann lagavna jee.  
 Thode bol vich haal Durranian daa  
 Mukhtisar mein khol sunaavanaa jee.  
 Kamm soorme da muh te zakham khana  
 Kamm shairaan os nu gavana jee.  
 Qadaryaar kartar nu yaad rakhaeye  
 Jis ne ant vele kam aanwanajee. 1

Be-badshah kabl da os vele  
 Haise shah Mahmud Afghan mian  
 Sohni Shakal par akal ad baut kota  
 Mashahoor oh vich jahan mian  
 Aipar raab di tek si us utte  
 Mliaye nek us nu baghwaan mian  
 Qadaryar, Barakzai sardar bhara  
 Fateh Khan Wazir juan mian. 2

Pe pura akeel shakeel bhara  
 Te daleel da wadda daler yaro  
 Fateh Khan Wazir see marad kamal  
 Goya Asal da Kabali sber yaro  
 Jithe jawanda see Fatheh pavanda see  
 Dhum pai eh char chuser yaro  
 Qadaryaar aa Sindh nu zer keeta  
 Sube hor nivaae su dher yaro. 3

Te Takhat te bahinda see shah kabal  
 Aipar raj wazir kamanda see  
 Baadshah ose passe muh karda  
 Jehada rah Wazir vikhaavande see  
 Shah Mahmud daa betaa see ik naami  
 Kaamraan oh naam sadavanda see  
 Qadaryaar par hasad da teer lagga  
 Uhnu mul Wazir na bhaavanda see. 4

Te takkaraan maarda phikar andar  
 Eha zikar see obde daban utte  
 Kise taran Wazir nu choor kariye  
 Noor chamekeya jisda jahan utte  
 Sadda dhang namoos vairan boeya

*Zikar us da har ik zabaan utte  
Qadaryaar nasib nen bhanj utte  
Raj kabal da see Fateh Khan utte.* 5.

*Se saabti vekh Wazir waali  
Kaamran uston thar tharaawanda see  
Zahir hoke vaang dilaawaran de  
Hath naal Wazir na pawandaa see  
Saari fauj Wazir da hukum manne  
Saaraa mulak ohda geet gawandaa see  
Qadaryaar par khappare sapp vaanguu  
Kaamran peya watt khamwanda see.* 6.

*Jeem jang da rang achanchet baneya  
Chadbeya Kaabal te shah Iran mian,  
Pure lakh sawaar di dbaar lai ke  
Wadeya aan oh mulak pathan mian  
Sher marad wadde kalbut walle  
Ladane vich mazboot pabelwaan mian  
Qadaryaar aaya maaro maar karda  
Ghera paya Herat nu aan mian.* 7.

*Che chadbeya Shah Mahmud ne jee  
Fateh Khan Wazir nu jang utte.  
Aakhe rakh eithon mere yaar jaani  
Meri zindgaani tere sang utte  
Turat ho taiyaar hushiaar yaaro  
Fateh Khan reba kaayam ang utte,  
Qadaryaar shapp taraf Heraat aaya  
Jivein sapp phaniar aawe dang utte.* 8.

*He hukam bhagwan da jevin hunda  
Tevein wartada jahan mian  
Fateh Khan Wazir di fateh boi  
Bhaji gayaaee Shah Iran mian  
Chadbi ik hulaare de nal yaaro  
Fateh Khan di guddi asmaan mian  
Qadaryaar kul mulak te boi shaadi  
Ik nahin raazi kaamran mian.* 9.

*Khe khoob khushi kaamran keeti  
Zahira bahut hoiyaa shaadmaan yaaro.  
Aipar khof khuda da door kar ke  
Dil vich hoeyaa beimman yaaro  
Ghar sadd Wazir nu vich jalase  
Lagga lain Amir di jaan yaaro  
Qadaryaar shaitaan de lagg aakhe  
Keeta deen imaan kurbaan yaaro.* 10.

*Daal dosti de taur vich jalse  
Kaamran Wazir bullaye jee  
Aakhe siraf tusaadari fateh khaatar*

*Eise mahful nu aan rachaeya jee .  
Fateh Khan Waazir nu vich majlas  
Naal shaan de pass bahaeya jee  
Qadaryaar pablon chaar sou kaatal  
Khufia mahil de pass bahaeya jee*

11.

*Daal dangano sapp nahi mool jaanda  
Bhaven lapp vich duddh pilaa mian  
Bura Baaz buraai theen na aave  
Lakh Bhala is naal kamaan mian  
Poochhal kuttte di kaadi naa bove sidhee  
Baaran baras vich nali de paa mian  
Qadaryaar par net te mile badla  
Bhaaven lave koi aazma mian.*

12.

*Zee zibah kasai jiven kare bakkra  
Tiven kaatlan fadaeya Waazir yaaro.  
Sooaa agg de naal jhatt laal kar ke  
Akkhaan sadiaan be takseer yaaro  
Hath pair chaa fer aazaad keete  
Doven Wakhaan dittiaan cheer yaaro  
Qadaryaar tarsaa tarsaa ke te  
Waddh sutteya saara sareer yaaro*

13.

*Re rah naa sakeya bhed chhupya  
Khabar hoie vich jahaan mian  
Kaamran ne piaar de naal sadd ke  
Ajj maar leya Fateh Khan mian  
Akkhaan saad ke pabilon betaab kar ke  
Kaddhi naal azaab phir jaan mian  
Qadaryaar kambhi saari aan Kaabal  
Badlaa lain nu chadhe Afghan mian.*

14.

*Ze zor tan shor da babut boeya  
Mulak vich aa peya tarthal yaaro.  
Ik doosare da sir kattane nu  
Jamaan hoey Pathaana de dal yaaro  
Muhammad Azeem Waazir da bhaai sakaa  
Badlaa lein kaaran aeya chaal yaaro  
Qadaryaar aakhe eiba gall meri  
Kaamran di laahni ai kball yaaro.*

15.

*Seenn sabh saamaan ladaai da jee  
Kaamran ne aan tiaar keeta,  
Shah Mahmud aakhe nij jamdon tun  
Pichhalla umar de vich khuaar keeta.  
Hathin aapani maar gavaaio ee  
Jisne nal goohda piaar keeta  
Qadaryaar ronda baadshah Kaabal  
Meinu putt ne an laachaar keela.*

16.

*Sheen shuru lagga hon jang jaldi  
Baddha aan ladaai da rang mian.  
Kaamran maidaan vich aan vadeya  
Lai ke shaah Mahmud nu sang mian  
Muhammad Azeem ladeya kabir naal yaaro  
Laher marre dareya jeeon gang mian  
Qadaryaar Kaamran ne bhaanj kbadhi  
Hoeya kaafaa os da tang mian.*

17.

*Suaad saaf ladaai nu haar ke jee  
Kaamran aa waidia Harat yaaro  
Badshahi da suraj garub boea  
Pai aan tabaahi di raat yaaro  
Shaah Mahmud nu Kamraan ne maat keeta  
Kise naal na karda see batt yaaro  
Qadaryaar Heraat bin mulak saaraa  
Maar leya Barakzai di zaat yaaro.*

18.

*Zuaad zarur Sarkaar nu khabar hoi  
Kaabal vich aa paeyan je bhandeyan jee  
Aapas vich Palhana de phutt hoi  
Ikk dooje deean waddheean jandeean jee  
Khaanaa-jangi ne mulk viraan keeta  
Sai Patbaaneeaan ho gaeen randiaan jee  
Qadaryaar Mahmud nu kaddh baabar  
Kaabal des deean pa leen wandeean jee*

19.

*Toey talab Sarkaar nu ladan di se  
Eis khabar ne hor bushiaar keeta  
Hari Singh nu aakhda uth jaldai  
Saadaa kam aasan kartar keeta  
Fateh Khan Wazir aseel ghazi  
Usnu dushmana maar ke paar keeta  
Qadaryaar Wazir de bhaiaan ne  
Shah Mahmud nu jhaad ke baabar keeta*

20.

*Zoey zaabira dhaunse nu maar dankaa  
Sarkaar taiyaar ho gai ai jee.  
Turat Ravi dareya ton paar ho ke  
Chaumi vich Shabaadare de vich pai ai jee  
Kull jang di cheez vall dhiaan keeta  
koi gall naahi baakii rahi ai jee  
Qadardaar taan kadak ke vaang bijli  
Sadak shahir Pashaur di laee ai jee*

21.

*Ain akal te fikar ton baabar yaaro  
Maharaj ne aan samiaan jore  
Garaandeel aswaar rangeen bannke  
Vaang baran de chungeean laan ghode  
Topan gole baarood bebaad yaaro  
Hathi ladan wale naabeen saaban thode  
Qadaryaar Akaaleeye naag kaale*

*Jinban maar ke munh Pathaan mode.* 22.

*Ghain gazab de naal sarkaar chadhi  
Jiven baddlaan di kaali baath mian.  
Aee sajjadi vajaadi gajjadi jee  
Lai ke kull ladaai da thath mian  
Naseebaan waliyaan padtalaan asal jangi  
Vaang hatbeeaan jinba de kath mian  
Qadaryaar Ventura jarnail chadhya  
Faranseese see soorma raath mian* 23.

*Fe fauj vich bahut sardaar naami  
Sifat kar nahi sakda kabin waala  
Ek duje da saani chaturai de vich  
Te ladaai de vich pachhanh naa rabin waala  
A ipar ikk sardar ajeeb yarro  
Zakham saahmain muh te sahin waala  
Qadaryaar jahaan te naam roshan  
Sham Singh Ataari de rabin waala.* 24.

*Kaaf kai jarnail asalgorkhe jee  
Pakaad Khokhari firan tiaar main  
Zer kad par sber de vaang jussa  
Baajh ladan de bor naa kaar mian  
Labena Singh Panj-batha te Avitabile  
Adde jinba de hadd theen paar mian  
Qadaryaar par sareyan vich naami  
Hari Singh Nahwa Sardar mian.* 25.

*Gaff gajj pai gai phir jang saare  
Takhtaa aan Pashaur da halleya jee  
Laggi tod jaa Kaabal nu dhamak yaaro  
Seenaa aan Pathan tarthaliaa jee  
Yaar Muhammad Pathan hiraan ho ke  
Saaf chhad Pashaur nu chalkleya jee  
Qadaryaar Sardar lai katak jaujaan  
Kandha aan ke Attock da Malleya jee.* 26.

*Laam, lai ke hukam Sarkar koleon  
Hari Singh Sardar tiaar boeya  
Zafar-jang Divan Chand sang lai ke  
Attock jhaagne nu aswaar boeya.  
Lai ke baaraan hazaar swaar jangi  
Maran maarni te bar karaan boeya  
Qadaryaar sarkaar de vehendeyaan nu  
Jhatt Attock dariya ton paar boeya.* 27.

*Meem muh Pashaur de val keeta  
Masat sherjiven aave chall yaaro.  
Yaar Muhammad Pathan naa riba kayam  
Saaraa maal ditto kaabval ghal yaaro  
Singh vek ke kaabal da raah fadeya*

*Saab meinvadaa vich naa kball yaaro  
Qadaryaar Pashaur vich caan vadeya  
Hari Singh hath pakad ke bball yaaro.* 28.

*Noon nass ke gaey Pathan saathon  
Hari Singh Sarkar val khabar ghalle  
Gaji sun ke tereyaan dhoseyaan di  
Baajh ladan paraanb nu bhaji challe  
Assan kaddhie naa tegh mian vichon  
Ghazi zaraa naa vich maidaan kballle  
Qadaryaar sarkar jee aao jaldi  
Asaan aan Pashaur de raah malle.* 29.

*Wao Wahguru da naam lai muhon  
Maharaja tjaar ho uth dhaeeya.  
Utte bhaur araqi aswaar ho ke  
Vich Attock dareya de ghaban paeya  
Saari fauj ne magar vebeer ghatti  
Paani kandhenyan de utte chadh gaeya  
Qadaryar sarkaar talvaar fad ke  
Jhanda paar de kandhe te jaa laeeya.* 30.

*He hathi de ute aswaar ho ke  
Maharaja Pashaur vich aan vadeyaa.  
Vajan lagge naggare rabaab yarro  
Muh te rang gulaab da aan chadeyaa  
Vadeyaa vich pahaad de Ali Akbar  
Dost Muhammad Kandhaar de vich dadeyaa  
Qadaryaar oh masat be-khanf firda  
Jibda dasat kartaar ne aap fadeyaa.* 31.

*Ye yaari bhagvaan di hoi jadon  
Jaa maareya singhan Pashaur yarro.  
Jiven bijali nikaldi ambraan chon  
Khabar gai ei vich Lahore yaaro  
Saare vich Punjab de hoi shaadi  
Wadde jalseyaan de hoe zor yaaro  
Qadaryaar Hari Singh bana sooba  
Maharaj kitee ghar nu tor yaaro.* 32.

### See Harfi Som

*Alaf aa Pashaur de vich yaaro  
Hari Singh hun raaj kamaan lagga  
Gazabnaak Afghan juann pakke  
Vichon sooe de nakke langhann lagga  
Naal nok sangeen maheen kar ke  
Dekho aapani een manaan lagga  
Qadaryaar deleri de kam kar ke  
Naam aapnaa raushan karaan lagga.  
Be bahut hoeyaa udhaa bol baalaa  
Dhol aa mashboori da vajeyaa jee*

Badmaash be-peer shareer jehda  
Vaang kaaang de teer ton bhajjeya jee  
Vekh shah-zori Hari Singh waalee  
Yaaron choraan ne chori nu tajjeya jee  
Qadaryaar keeta bandobasat aisa  
Saara mulak jis nu vekh rajjeya jee  
Pe pakad ke jakdadbada mujramaan nu  
Zaraa khauf naa dil te liaawadaa see.  
Trakkadi tol kacherbri vich adal wali  
Fer bol ke hukam sunaanda see  
Ditte kai faabe kai kath laae  
Gunaahgaar te taras naa khaanda see  
Kadaryaar Pashaur di hadd andar  
Doola apanaa hukam chalaanda see  
Te tasmaan debat Peshaur de vich  
Hari Singh di firi dubaai yaaro  
Paaee aisi Pathana nu nath jis ne  
Sona hath lal ke turda raabi yaaro  
Sabbe chor daku uthon pare boe  
zor kise da chale na kai yaaro.  
Qadaryaar Pashaur nu sodh ke te  
Dharati Kaabal di aan kambaai yaaro  
Se saabti dekh ke singh waali  
Kaabal vich paide hoeya josh mian.  
Chali vich Kandhar vichaar yaaro  
Ghanzani vich aa peaa Kharosh mian  
Asin aap saare himmat haar biathe  
Eis Sikh te nabin Kujh dosh mian  
Qadaryaar Afghan salaah Karde  
Uttho Karo ekaa naal hosh mian  
Jeem jamma ho ke pag banh saare  
vaang chittareyn vag de vich wadieye.  
gussa kha ke badan noo taa de ke  
Hath vich shamsbir nu khich fadieye.  
Teghaan maar ke Sikh di mikh kadhieye  
Naal tarakh de daameaan vaang chadieye.  
Qadaryaar Pashaur nun fateh karke  
Siddhe vich Lahore de jaa wadieye.  
Che chust ho ke kariye kam aapnaa  
Zara dam nan Sikhaan nu lain deye  
Saanu shahir Pashaur da varam dodha  
Eih sharam naa dile nu sabin deye  
Sikhan aan bhari bho khal saadi  
Eih gall naa kise nu kabin deye.  
Qadaryaar Pashaur bar taur laina  
Bhavaan Khoon diaan nadiiaan vabin deye.  
Hai haunsale de naal chaal chal ke  
Eis bal nu rakho chhupa mian  
Je kar zara sardar nu khabar paasi  
faujan hor uh laisi mangaa mian  
Ranjit Singh babuti fauj naal lai ke  
wadeyya vich Lahore de jaa mian.

*Qadaryarr udhe vaapars aundeyan nu  
Hari Singh nu debo muka main.  
Khe khub hushari de naal yaaro  
Lagge Karan Afghan tiaariaan nee  
Aipar Singh de kaamal jassoos firde  
Jinnha aan dasseyan khabraan sariaan nee.  
Kis taraan Pathana ne khaa kasamaan  
Fotaan saareean dilon vasareean nee.  
Qadaryaar sun ke aakehe Singh doola  
Bhaaven kismataan saadiaan haariaan nee  
Daal disda nabi koi raah sanun  
Hari Singh Lahore likha tore.  
Saathon shahir Pashaur de Khasane nu  
Katak chatak Durraniaan aan jode.  
Ghallo jald imdadd saamaan jangi  
Muslman babute asin baan thode.  
Qadaryaar uh narak vich garke jaave  
Jehada eis maidaan ton muh mode  
Jaal zikar musaabibaan naal kar ke  
Hari Singh ladaai da fikar karda  
Aakehe sat akaal da naam lai ke  
Mera wahiguru rakhsi aap par da  
Aje hai wella yaaro nassane daa  
Beshak nass jaave jehada hai darda  
Qadaryaar fir lai samiaan saara  
Hari Singh jamrud de Qile wadada  
Re rakkhannaa asaan Pashaur kaabu  
Bole soormaa Singh javaan yaaro  
Saanu jaan kolon piaari babut saari  
Maharaj di jehadi amaan yarro.  
Jeende jee mein kis taraan hath vichon  
hun diaan Pashaur nu jaan yarro  
Qadaryaar hai asaan maidaan lainaa  
Jaa ke mallnaa asaan gustaan yaaro  
Ze zor Pathana da baut dise  
Sannu ghat khalon ge jadon ghera  
Danna Paani nakhuttasi Qile vichon  
Saanu ghllsi fer imdald kehra  
Kul Cheez nu Qile vich jmma  
Saara faaltu hai asbaabw jehada  
Qadaryaar fir qile ton bahar aake  
Sarwan paar ho ke karo chall dera  
Seen Sikh Sardar tiaar ho ke  
Lagge nikalane qile ton baabar yaaro  
Muhon sat Kartar da nam lai ke  
Badhi vich maidaan Kataar yaaro.  
Kul chaar topaan Sikhaan paas aaian  
Siraf baran hazaar asvaar yaaro  
Qadaryaar ik padtal see paidalan di  
Hari Singh de pass sardar yaaro  
Sheen shuru Pathana di hoi aamad  
Vaang keedieaan de be shumaar mian.*

Nede aan ke morche banh lainde  
Jithe khalaah see singh sardar mian  
Chaare paase pathana ne aan malhe  
Saare Sikh khalah vichkaar mian.  
Qadaryaar kartaar hun laaj rakhasi  
Sikh sau afgban hazar mian.  
Suaad saaf maidaan kalaan saara  
Hoeyaa gbaziaan naal bharpur yaaro  
naabraa Allah-hoo-Akbar daa maar aakbar  
Assan Sikhhaan nu karanna hai choor yaro  
Hari Singh aakhe madeed nahi nede  
Ate shahir Lahore hai door yaaro  
Qadaryaar toosin lado daro nabin  
Ik din saareyan maranaa zaroor yaaro  
Zuaad zaroor sardar tiaar hoeyaa  
Lakk banh ke tez talvaar yaaro  
Muhon sat Kartar da naam lai ke  
chambe ghode te hoeyaa asivaar yaaro  
Agge sabhamma ton heo asivaar kballah  
Pichee baddhi sawaraan katar yaaro  
Qadaryaar taan ghode nu mar addi  
Aeeyaa soormaaa singh lalkear yaaro  
Toye taraf Durraniaan chal aeeye  
Jwen bhedan de val baghiaad mian  
Nall barchhayaan pet miadaan utte  
Dittee saiyaan pathana de paad mian  
Jithe pain Pathan naa rahin kaaim  
Hoi suman samaadhaan ujjad mian  
Qadaryaar ik aan vich murdeyaan daa  
Lagga vich maidan pabaad mian.  
Zoeye zaharaa rabe naa zara kaaim  
Aisaa Sikhhaan Pathana nu dangeyaa je  
Hari Singh sardar talwar phad ke  
Muh saiyaan Pathana da rangeyaa je.  
Afzal Khan Pathan daler yaaro  
Munh fer ke ladnn ton sangea jee  
Qadaryaar uh chhadd maidan geya  
Daraa jaa khaiber walla langheyaa jee  
Ain Ali Akbar ik Pathan naami  
Kaaim riba hun vich maidan yaaro  
Jibadi taabya vich manjood khalaah  
Poora assee hazar Afghan yaaro.  
Hari Singh nu us naa kadi diiba  
Rakhe dil de vich armaan yaaro  
Qadaryaar aakhe je kar mile meenu  
Teghaan maar kaddhan ujh di jaan yaaro  
Ghain ghussa pathana ne bahut khada  
Aipar pesh naa jaawandi kaai mian  
Hari Singh daler juaan di jee  
firi vich jabhan dubaai mian  
Pakad tegh nangi changi shakal waala  
Aisaa diiba na jangi sipaahi mian.

*Qadaryaar Hari Singh soorme ne  
Ali keetee e vaddi kamaai mian.  
Fe fauj Pathana di doosari vich  
Hari Singh hun ghoda dudha wardha  
Waah asvaar te khub ghoda  
Dise zimeen te wool na pair dharda  
Himmat baar Afghan faraar hunde  
Nede aan ke koi naa mool laddaa  
Qadaryar jo aanwande pass us de  
naal dhaar talwar de paar kardaa  
Kaaf kamb geya yaaro Ali Akbar  
Hari Singh jad dharuh talwaar aaeyea.  
Jalwa mool na jhallya jave uhdaa  
vaang sher de maar lalkaar aaeya  
Hath paked talwaar sardar doola  
Agge seyaan Pathana nu maar aaeya  
Qadaryaar hushiaar ho Al i Akbar  
Hari Singh hun baahn ulaar aaeya  
Gaaf gai naa pesh Ali Akbare di  
Chebra khauf theen hoeyaa soo fook yaarro  
Jehada disda see dooran saroo vaangu  
Dittha nedeon vasal di bhook yaaro  
Surat rahi na tegh nikaalane di  
Turat sedhi soo chaa bandook yaaro  
Qadaryaar jaa vekhaya Singh doole uchi aakhda maar ke kook yaaro.  
Laam laggi leek tahkeek tainu  
Te bahaadari daa mit nishaan jaasi  
Ali Akbara maar naa tupaak meenu  
Roz hasbar teekan armaan jaasi  
Hath pakad talwaar hushiaar hokeke  
Lade aji kurbaan jahaan jaasi  
Qadaryaar jad marenga sang tere  
koi shai naa baajh imman jassi  
Meem muhon na kujh jawaab ditte  
Ali Akbar bandook chalaai ei jee.  
Trupak kadakdi ei vang bijali de  
Goli wang kaza de aaeye ei jee  
Laggi pett nichkaar disaar ho gai  
Nadi laboo di baabar wag aaie ei jee.  
Qadaryaar tan pichaan nu mod ghoda  
Hari Singh doole adi laaie hai jee.  
Noon nikal chal ghodeaa Qile de wal  
Asaan panna nahi duji varr phera  
Goli laggi el keher kalur waali  
Ghayil hoeyaa ei aji aswar teraa  
Mere baankeeyaa chhaalchabeeleya oh  
hai tun sayan maidaan a daa yaar meraa.  
Qadaryaar je lai challen aji dere  
Teraa kadi naa bhullasee piaar sheraa  
Vaaoo vageyaa vaa de vaaang ghodaa  
Jiven nikalda tir Kamaan vichon.  
Maar chungeeeah heran de vaang yaaro*

Udd geyaa see us maidaan vichon,  
 Faujaan Sikhanaan deeraan vichon ghar geayaa  
 Langh geyaa see laskhar Pathan vichon.  
 Qadaryaar hath naal sardar baitha  
 Aipar nikaldi pai see jaan vichon.  
 He hath dian batbaan de vich raheeyaan  
 Ditha naukaraan jadon sardaar yaaro  
 Sir pair teekan dubbaa kbun de vich  
 Saavan maah di jiven fuhaar yaaro.  
 Aakhe naal ishaartaan laaho meenu  
 Taakat rashi na vich guftaar yaaro.  
 Qadaryaar hal goli ne ghaa keetaa  
 Hai eih aakhari wakat deedaar yaaro.  
 Ye yaad karke rabb aapene nu  
 Hari Singh nu ghore ton laabeo ne  
 Banh pattiaan zakham nu saaf karke turat palang te cha  
 letaeo ne  
 Furati naal bulaa bajaam taainn  
 Fall vatt de naal sivaao ne  
 Qadaryaar par kbhon nahin band hunda fikar lakh bazaar  
 dudhaao ne.

### Si Harfi Chahaaram

Alaf aakhda Hari Singh suno yaaro  
 Merri gaal de vall dhan Karnaa.  
 Banda kaunjo kare tadbeerr koi  
 Kam so jo hai bhagwaan karanaa  
 Meenu maat da kahfu naa zaraa yaaro  
 Baddsbah gada hai sabh Maranaa.  
 Qadaryaar rakho tusin gall mohkam  
 Jehadi gall mein hun bhaan karanaa  
 Be bahut hushiaari darkaar hai jee  
 Makhafi rakhanaa maat da raaz yaaro  
 Meeri maat da zikar naa mool karnaa  
 Eis vich nuksaan daraaz yaaro.  
 Je kar hoeyaa maaloom durranaan nu  
 mera rooh kar geyaa parvaaz yaaro.  
 Qadaryaar sarkar de aundeyaan nu  
 Radak chhodsan vaang piaaz yaaro  
 Pe pakh pakkaa salaah kar ke  
 Jadon nikal jaave meraa dam yaaro  
 Chaa bhoeyon manji utte paadanaa  
 Ate kajj denaa meraa cham yarro.  
 Muhon kabena sardar beemaar hoeyaa  
 Bahut zor paeyaa balgham yaaro  
 Qadaryaar naa gham nu zhaar karnaa  
 nahin te kain ho jaavasi tam yaaro.  
 Te taab naa rahi vich bolane di  
 Hoeyaa bahut laachaar sardar lachar saain.  
 Raat rahi naa badn de vich ratti  
 Rang hoeyaa soo vaang vasaar saain.

Muhon wabeguru daa naam lai aakhe  
 Haan mein bahtu paapi gunahgaar saain  
 Qadaryaar moyaa Hari Singh doolaa Jivein hukam see aap kartaar saain.  
 Te tale naa teer takdeer da jee  
 Gaeyaa sukhan naa aae zabaan vichon.  
 Gaeya busan javaani naa fer aawe  
 Moeyaa murda naa nave gustaan vichon  
 Geedee kadi naa ran vich pair paawe  
 Ghazi mard na murdbadaa madaan vichon.  
 Qadaryaar main das mard kehadaa  
 Ravan hoeya nahee jehadaa jahaan vichon  
 Se saabati de naal vich goshe  
 Hari Singh di laash tikaan beli  
 Kol mool naa kise nu babin dinde  
 Kehe singh daa khaas farmaan beli  
 Naal nehmataan thaal bharpoor karke  
 Jeeon dastoor se pass lijaan beli  
 Qadaryaar fir khaa ke aap kbanna  
 Thaal sakkbanaa baabar bhuaan beli  
 Jeem jamaa ho ke razdaar saare  
 Khat taraf sarkar de paavande jee  
 Pabilon adab adab niaz yaaro  
 Fateh wabeguru jee di bulaavande jee  
 Fer aakhde bhajji a baanh teri  
 Aseen likhdeyaan pae sharmaavande jee  
 Qadaryaar moeyaa Hari Singh doola  
 Sadde jee dub dub gote khaanvande jee.  
 Che chaldi nabin bhaaven pesh saadi  
 Datti boi hai fer bhi fauj saari  
 Charron taraf pathana ne paaneyaa ghera maaran vich seene  
 kass teer kaari  
 Assan mant daa bhed naheed zaabar keeta  
 Saanu lagadi pai nahee jaan piaari  
 Qadaryaar shitaab de naal pabuncho  
 Nabi te katal ho jawasi fauj saari  
 Hey haal behaal ho geya sadda.  
 Hari Singh moeyaa ik baat hai jee.  
 Danaa paani nakhuteya kile vichon  
 Eh doosari sakhat afaat hai jee.  
 Saare jaag de vich ikbaal teraa  
 Suneyaa vich tere karamaamaat hai jee.  
 Qadaryaar imdaad da hun welaa  
 Siron pichee taan kali mat haijee. \*

\* Ganda Singh (ed.), *Si-Harfian Hari Singh Nahwa* (written by Misr Hari Chand Qadryaar), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968.

Appendix-II

**Var Hari Singh ki Likhayate  
Kirt Kavi Sahai Singh**

*Alaf aad bhawaani daa naam laeye  
Tera judh vich naam dbiaayiye jee  
Tu aap hi hai jang karan haari  
jo var mangiye soi fal paaiye jee  
Tun hoe diaal meri baaak baani  
Hari Singh daa jass sunaaiye jee  
Sabai Singh di benati mann mataa  
Panth vich eh juddh sanaeye jee.  
Alaf Amritsaron dera kooch karke  
Jaae vich watale de paeyaa ee  
Bagh vich sarkar jad jae baithi  
Paas sabh musaab sadaeayaayee.  
Pishaur chadan da huknm sarkar ne jee  
Jamaadar nu turt fermaeyaa ee.  
Sabai Singh Pishaur daa naam sun ke  
Jamaadar ne khauf badd khaeyaa ee.  
Be baabar aeyaa gussa khaaike jee  
Meri araz nahi kise kol keetee  
Sabhe rahe mujaabab nee kol baithe  
Meri zaabar haqiqat-naa kise keetee.  
Hari Singh Sardarjad baabar aeyaa  
Dohan baith ke eh salah keetee.  
Sabai Singh jehadi jamaadar aakhi,  
Hari Singh Sardar ne mann leette.  
Te tamak lagi Hari Singh doolo  
Jamaadar nu aakh sunawanda ee.  
Ikk gall jamaadar de naal karke  
Eh arz sarkare sunawanda ee.  
Hukam hove tan mein Pishaur jawan  
Jamaadar thon gall hataawanda ee.  
Sabai Singh suno Kabal gaeyan khabraan  
Hari Singh Pishaur nu aawanda ee.  
Se sadd ke aap Sarkar ne jee  
Hari Singh nu pass bahaeyaa ee.  
Kalagi jiga te dhaal talwar de ke  
Siropao taan kboob subaeyaa ee.  
Nimaskaar karda Hari Singh doolo  
Thaapi de sarkar bhijvaeyaa ee.  
Hari Singh Sardar ne chadbat keeti  
Dera Kotali de vich paayee ee.  
Jeem jama Karke sabh fanj taai.  
Dera kooch dar kooch karaamvadaa ee.  
Attbaan dina di fanj nu deye chhutti  
Dera jaae Bhaadewaal paavanda ee.  
Lok tarasade ne mukh vekhane nu  
Nahi Gujramvale nu aawanda ee.  
Sabai Singh asbab tiar kar ke dera*

Hasle waal ja pawanda ee  
Hai hass kabinda jamaadar taai  
Tusin picbhe sarkar val jaaeye jee  
Rabe jimande milaange fer mudh ke  
Saamu hasske fateh bulaaeye jee.  
Dera kooch dar kooch karvaaeye jee  
Panje Sahib sandaa darshan paaiyejee  
Sabai Singh Panjtaaran nu marke jee  
Fateh kar Pisbaur nu dbaaeye jee.  
Khe khaan malook jo babut dithe  
Ehu jeha Wareyaam nahi koi hoeyaa.  
Fauj sabh langhaai soo bedeyan te  
Haathi Attock de vich jaa gaahan dhoeyaa  
Paar langh ke dbill naa zaran keetee  
Dera jai dbuder de pass dhoeyaa  
Sabai Singh sajaade nu khabar karke  
Panjtaar maarne da doolo nu fikar hoeyaa.  
Daal dekh samiaan pahaadh da jee  
Dera jaae gale agge paaeyaa ee.  
Sher Singh Sajaade nu khabar karke,  
Teja Singh nu paas sadaeyaa ee.  
Kampu topkhaana sabh tiaar karke  
Ehu hukam sarkar farmaeyaa ee.  
Sabai Singh Sardar jadd hoey katthe  
Fateh Khan nufikar ban paaeyaa ee.  
Zaal zara ni dbil nan keeteeaa soo,  
Paltan addhie raatin theri chandheyaa soo.  
Kolon hor dere nahin khabar keetee  
Raaton raat Panjtaar nu maareyo soo.  
Aan chalan lagga jadon topkhaana,  
Aggon, sabhe jaa topaan sambhaliaan soo.  
Sabai Singh aakhe doolo jas teraa,  
Paas baith Panjtaaran nu sadheaa soo.  
Re roobro sadd halkareyaan nu  
Arzi likh sarkare puchaanwada ee.  
Kampu hoeyna videyaa Hari Singh paason.  
Jado sber aa ke dera laawanda ee.  
Sabai Singh Singhan babut khusi hoi  
Utthe paltanmaa talab vartaawandaa ee.  
Ye yaad karke guru aapane nu  
Fateh kar panjtaar ton Singh chadhaeyaa  
Dhamak logi hai vich wilaaetaan de  
Pul banh dera Landeyohn paar kareyaa  
Paar langh ke doolo na dbill keetee  
Dera jae farmnee de vich kareyaa  
Sabai Singh Sardar di chaab sohni  
Dhaunsa maar Pisbaur de vich vadheyaa.  
Sheen Sher vaangu bhabak maar kejee  
Faujan bagh de paas khalvaaeyaan soo.

...

Ali marad de bagh vich aap baitha  
Chhauni aapani fanjaan utaraeyaan soo.

Sabai Singh aakhe daswen din uthon  
 Fer agge di boat chitaariyaa soo.  
 Sheen shahir de lok ikkathe ho ke  
 Haith jodh ke araz sunawande nee  
 Jugo jug doolo teraa raaj hove  
 saanu firde eh babut akaawande nee  
 katthe beke saath tiaar sabee  
 Jamrod daa mulakh vikhaanwde nee  
 Sabai Singh aakhe Kabal gaeyaan khabaraan  
 Khaibar boobe utte kila pawande nee.  
 Snaad sadd ke sabhanaa pandittaan nu  
 Pass baith ke bed puchawada ee.  
 Shubbh lagan te ghadbi vichaar ke jee.  
 Gudh wand ketel chuanwda ee.  
 Utthe sabb musaahab ne hoe katthe  
 Mahan Singh nu hukam farmawandaa ee.  
 Sabai Singh aakhe kila ghatt ke jee  
 Mudh chhawani nuferaa paanwda ee  
 Je jodhdaa hai hat dine raatin  
 Meri rakkebin bhagwati tun laaj maeyaa  
 Sarkar de sajaadye de viaah taain  
 Likh toreyaa soo meri val bhaiyaa  
 Aap aawane daa koi dhabb naabin  
 Eithe hoeyaa hai juddh samiaan bhaiyaa.  
 Sabai Singh Jamrod da kila paeyaa.  
 E Khabraaan kandhar de vich gaeyaan.  
 Te tauba pukaarde turak sabbbhe  
 Hari Singh Sardar ton khauf aawe  
 Khaibar waleyaa ghalleyaa Kabaliaan nu  
 Fauja ghalo tan saaddi bhi rah aawe  
 Je kar faujaan na ghalo hamrah saadi  
 Khaibar maar dera Kabal vich paave  
 Sabai Singh Durrani sabb hoe katthe  
 Agge gal soi jebdi rabb bhawe.  
 Joe jamaan kar ke sabb musalmaani  
 Dera aay gale agge paeyaa ee  
 Chhauni hundiaan rroz baroz khabraan  
 Hari Singh chadh ke fer aeyaa ee.  
 Doolo chadhdean zaraa naa dhil keetee  
 Mukh devi daa warat rakhaeyaa ee.  
 Sabai Singh suno khabraan juddh diaan  
 Topaan mar ke turak bhajaeyaa ee.  
 Ain aan lagge qile morche jee  
 Maha Singh Sardar nun khabar karda  
 Sath satar bazar durani aae  
 Maha Singh sarkare bhi araj likhdaa  
 Faujaan ghallo hamraah sitaab saadi  
 Jameet Singh Maharaj see turat chadhadaa  
 Sabai Singh Jameet Singh Khoob ladheyaa  
 Maar turakaan de sathar vichhae dhardaa.

...

Satjug vich rajaa karan hoeyaa  
 Teba punn Hari Singh hun kardaa  
 Aidda punni te daani naa hor koi  
 Jis da naao sun kee jass lok kardaa.  
 Sabai Singh Sardar daa naao sun ke  
 Turak sandra tej hun door kardaa.  
 Fe fauj agge bath jobhadaa jee  
 Hari Singh Sardar jo araz kardaa  
 Baksho gunah saare guru Khalsa jee  
 Vich Guru Granthjee aan dhardaa  
 Tusi karan kaaran Guru Khalsa jee  
 Hukam mannn ke kadhaah prashaad kardaa.  
 Sabai Singh kabe suno khalsa jee  
 Hari Singh Sardar hun aap chadhadaa.  
 Kaaf kamar kasi sardar ne jee  
 Sabh fauj tiaar karvaoe soo  
 Dhaunsa maarke fanjaan de naal chadheyaa  
 Baabar sabh asbaab dharvaoe soo.  
 Tummandar se fauj de chaar doolo  
 Musalmaan nu fikar bad paeo soo.  
 Hari Singh Sardar daa tap bhaara  
 Pat morcha pichhe bataoo soo.  
 Gaaf gaur kardaa waddi fauj di jee  
 Hukam Singh nu vich khalehaareyaa ee.  
 Saari fauj ditti Hukam Singh nu jee.  
 Jamadaar nu bahut Singhaareyaa ee.  
 Faujaan jaandean hain barobhari jee  
 Agge hoe rasaaleyaan toreyaa ee.  
 Sabai Singh rasaale nu kudd pae.  
 Fauj aapani nu lalkeareyaa ee.  
 Laam lagge lurak bhaanj khaan agge,  
 Ikk dooje nu nabin sambhaalde jee.  
 Faujaan mall laeeyaan fauj apni ne  
 Utte aaeen da pahiraa khalaarde jee  
 Hoi aapani fauj nu bahut Khusbi  
 Turkaan maarke heth lataadhade jee  
 Sabai Singh aakhe ik burie keetie  
 Golmdaz nabi inhaa maarne see.  
 Meem maut naa jaandaa kehi hundi  
 Tega khich ke juddh de vich wadhadaa  
 Hor fauj taan bahut sarkar di hai  
 Hari Singh soora agge hoe ladhdaa  
 Fauj jaae lagi tamboo luttane nu.  
 Hari Singh sardar see manbe kardaa.  
 Sabai Singh firangan nu maar ke jee,  
 Top khaane de vich barood sadhadaa.  
 Noon nass gae pabile turak utthon  
 fer aaye ikkath karaavande nee  
 Gussa khayeke khichh talvaarin laeeyaan  
 Maaro maar hee bahut pukaaarde nee.  
 Halla keeta.

\* Ashok, Shamsher Singh(ed.), *Prachin Jang Name*, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1950.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PUBLISHED SOURCES

#### GURMUKHI

- Ashok, Shamsher Singh (ed.), *Prachin Jangname*, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1950.  
Bhangu, Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash* (written in early 19th century), Amritsar, 1962.  
Dard, Hira Singh, *Karam Singh Historian Di Ithasik Khoj*, Amritsar, n.d.  
Ganda Singh, *Sikh Itibas Wal*, Lahore, 1946.  
... *Sikh Itibas*, Amritsar, 1932.  
... (ed.), *Punjab Dian Varan*, Amritsar, 1946.  
... *Kuj Ku Puratan Sikh Itibasik Patre*, Pub. author, Amritsar, 1937.  
... *Sikh Itibas Bare*, Amritsar, 1942.  
Gian Singh, Giani, Sri *Guru Plinth Prakash*. (A.D. 1874), Patiala, 1970 (Reprint).  
... *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint).  
Hoti, Baba Prem Singh, *Khalsa Raj de Bideshi Karinde*, Amritsar, 1945.  
... *Khalsa Raj de Usraiye*, Ludhiana, n.d.  
... *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Amritsar, 1918.  
... *Hari Singh Nahwa*, Pub. Author, 1927.  
Kohli, Sita Ram, *Fateh Nama Guru Khalsa Ji Ka*, Patiala, 1952.  
Qadaryaar, *Si-Harfian, Hari Singh Nahwa* (ed. Ganda Singh), Patiala, 1965.

#### PERSIAN

- Ahmad Yar, Mian Maulvi, *Shabnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (A.D. 1838), ed. Ganda Singh, Sikh History Society, Amritsar, 1951.  
Amar Nath, Diwan, *Zafar-Nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, ed. Sita Ram Kohli, Panjab University, Lahore, 1928. (The author was the *bakhsbi* of the Khasla Army and a son or Diwan Dina Nath, Finance Minister to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.)  
Badehra, Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab* (A.D. 1847), ed. Kirpal Singh, Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1965.  
Batalia, Ahmad Shah, *Zikr-i-Guruan-wa-Ibtida-i-Singhan-wa-Mazahib-i-Eshan* (This is a section of the manuscript *Tawarikh-i-Hind* written in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and published as an appendix to the first volume of Sohan Lal Suri's *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*), Arya Press, Lahore, 1885-89.  
Bute Shah, Ghulam Muhayyuddin, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab*, M/837, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.  
Ganda Singh (ed.), *Makhib-e-Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, Sikh History Society, Amritsar 1949. (It is a collection of extracts from different Persian works on Sikhs.)  
Kanhaiya Lal, Rai Bahadur, *Zafar Namah-i-Ranjit Singh*, Mustafa Press, Lahore, 1876.  
Khafi Khan, Mohd. Hashim, *Muntakhab-ul-Labab* (A.D. 1722), Two Vols., Calcutta, 1874.  
Khushwaqt Rai, *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, M/800, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.  
Mufti, Ali-ud-Din, *Ibratnama* (A.D.1854), Two Vols., The Punjab Adabi Academy, Lahore, 1961.  
Nath Mal, *Amar Namah* (A.D. 1708), ed. Ganda Singh, Sikh History Society, Amritsar, Patiala, 1953.  
Nur Muhammad, Qazi, *Jang Namah (A.D. 1705)*, ed. Ganda Singh, Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1939.  
Paras Ram, Hakim, *Tawarikh-i-Punjab(Urdu)*, M/917, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.  
Suri, Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Five Vols., Arya Press, Lahore, 1885-89 (Sohan Lal Suri was the news writer and chronicler of the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.)

#### ENGLISH (Primary Sources)

- Archer, Major, *Tours in India, and in Parts of Himalyan Mountains with an Account of the Courts of Native Princes etc..* Two Vols., R. Bentley, London, 1883.  
Barr, W., *Journal of a March From Delhi to Peshawar and from thence to Kabul including Travels in the Punjab*, James

- Madden & Co., London, 1884.
- Brown, James, *History of the Origin and Process of the Sikhs* (Indian tracts), the East Indian Co. Logographic Press, London, 1788.
- Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara, Being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool etc.*, Three Vols., John Murray, London, 1834.
- Campbell, George, *Memoirs of my Indian (career)*, Two Vols., ed. C.E. Bernard, Macmillan & Co., London, 1893.
- Court, Major Henry (tr. and edited). *History of the Sikhs* (trans. of *Sikhan de Raj di Vithiya*), C.M.G. Press, Lahore, 1888.
- Elliot, Sir Henry M. & Dowson, J., *History of India As Told by its Own Historians*, Eight Vols., Edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H.M Elliot by John Dowson, Trubner Co., London, 1867-77.
- Forster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England Through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia*, etc., first Vol. (Written in 1783 A.D. and published in 1798), Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint).
- Franklin, W., *The History of the Reign of Shah Allum*, Author, London, 1798.
- ... *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas* (Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas original documents), pub. Author, Calcutta, 1803.
- Fraser, J.B., *Military Memoirs of Lt. Col. James Skinner*, Two Vols., Smith Elder and Co., London, 1851.
- Ganda Singh (ed.). *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Indian Studies, Past and Present, Calcutta, 1962 (These are the extracts published from the writings of early European writers like Col. Polier's 'The Siques' written in A.D. 1780.
- ... *The Punjab in 1839-40* (Selections from the Punjab Akhbars, Punjab Intelligence etc., preserved in National Archives of India, New Delhi) Sikh History Society, Amritsar, Patiala, 1955.
- Garret, H. L. O. and Chopra, G.L. (eds.). *Events of the Court of Ranjit Singh 1810-17* (trans. from the papers in the Alienation office, Poona), Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Griffin, Sir Lepel, *The Punjab Chiefs*, T.C. McCarthy, Chronicle Press, Lahore, 1865.
- ... *The Rajas of Punjab* (A.D. 1870), Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- ... *Ranjit Singh*, S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1967 (Second Indian print).
- Griffin, Sir Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Govt. Printing Press, Lahore, 1909.
- Harlan, Josiah, *A Memoir of India and Afghanistan*,]. Dobson Philadelphia, R. Baldwin, London, H. Bossange, Paris, 1842.
- Honighberger, John Martin, *Thirty-Five Years in the East: Adventures, Discoveries Experiments and Historical Sketches Relating to the Punjab and Cashmere etc.*, Two Vols., H. Bailliere, London, 1852.
- Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab Containing a Particular Account of the Govt. and Character of the Sikhs* (Trans. from German by Major T.B Jervis), John Petterman, London, 1815.
- Jacquemont, Victor, *Letters from India, Describing a Journey in the British Dominion of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere*, etc. Vol. I, Edward Churton, London, 1835.
- Lawrence, H.M., *Adventures of An Officer in the Punjab in the Service of Ranjit Singh*, Two Vols. (A.D. 1846), Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Malcolm, Lt. Col., *Sketch of the Sikhs: A Singular Nation Who Inhabit the Province of the Punjab*, John Murray, London, 1812.
- Mason, Charles, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, Including a Residence in Those Countries From 182.6-36*, Three Volumes, Richard Bentley, London, 1842.
- M, Gregor, W.L., *The History of the Sikhs*, Two Vols., James Madden, London, 1846.
- Mohan Lal, *Journal of a Tour Through the Punjab, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khorasan and Part of Persia in Company with Lt. Burnes and Dr. Gerard*, pub. Author, Calcutta, 1834.
- ... *Travels in the Punjab, Afghanistan etc.*, W.H. Alien and Co., London, 1846.
- Moorcraft, W. and G. Treback, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of the Hindustan and the Punjab in Ladakh and Kashmir in Peshawar etc.*, John Murray, London, 1837.
- Orlich, Capt. Leopold Von, *Travels in India including Sindh and the Punjab*, Two Vols. Longman, London, 1845.
- Osborne, Hon. W.G., *The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh with an Introductory Sketch of the Origin and Rise of the Sikh State*, Henry Colburn, London, 1840.
- Prinsep, Henry T, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with an Account of*

- the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs (A.D. 1834)*, Languages Department, Punjab Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Shahmat Ali. *The Sikhs and Afghans, in connection with India and Persia, immediately before and after the death of Ranjit Singh (A.D. 1847)*, Languages Department Punjab Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Steinback, Lt. Col., *The Punjaub, Being a Brief Account of the Country of the Sikhs; Its Extent, History, Commerce, Productions, Govt. Manufactures, Laws, Religion etc.* (A.D. 1845), Languages Dept. Punjab Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Suri, VS. (tr.), *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, daftar III, S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1961.
- Symth, G. Carmichael, *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore, with some account of the Jammu Rajas, the Sikh Soldiers and their Sardars, with notes on Malcolm, Prinsep etc.*, W. Thacker and Co., Calcutta, 1847.
- Temple, Sir Richard C., *Men and Events of My Time in India*, John Murray, London, 1882.
- Thornton, T.H., *History of the Punjab*, Two Vols., Alien and Company, London, 1846.
- Vigne, G.T, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghazni, Cabul and Afghanistan and of a Residence at the Court of Dost Mohammad*, Whittaker and Co., London, 1840.

## SECONDARY SOURCESS

- Annoymous, *History of the Punjab and the Rise, Progress and Present Condition of the Sect and the Nation of the Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Archer, John, Clerk, *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Ahmadiyyas : A Study of Comparative Religion*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, USA, 1946.
- Balwant Singh, *The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Lahore Book Shop, Lahore, n.d.
- Banga, Indu, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1978.
- Bingley, A.H., *Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Chopra, B.R., *Kingdom of the Punjab*, V.V.R.L., Hoshiarpur, 1969.
- Chopra, Gulshan Lal, *The Punjab As A Sovereign State*, V. V.R.I., Hoshiarpur, 1960.
- Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*, Moti Lal, Banarasi Dass, Delhi, 1964.
- ... "The Misdari Period of Sikh History", *The Missionary Delhi*, March, 1960.
- ... *Some Aspects of Sikh Polity Under Ranjit Singh*, *The Missionary*, September, 1961.
- ... (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978.
- Ganda Singh, *A Brief Account of the Sikh People*, Sikh History Society, Patiala, 1956.
- ... and Teja Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I (1469-1765), Orient Longman, Bombay, 1950.
- Ganda Singh, *The Sikhs and Sikhism*, Sikh History Society, Patiala, 1959.
- ... *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1959.
- Ganda Singh and Teja Singh (ed.), *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, First Death Centenary Volume, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1939.
- Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1966.
- Gordon, General John, J.H., *The Sikhs*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).
- Grewal, J.S., *Medieval India: History and Historians*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975.
- Grewal, J.S. and Indu Banga (eds.). *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1975.
- Grey, L. and Garrett, H.L.O, *European Adventurers of Northern India, Govt*, Printing Press, Lahore, 1929.
- Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I (1739-68), S.N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1939.
- ... *History of the Sikhs (Cis-Sutlej Sikhs)*, Vol II (1769-99). The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore, 1944.
- ... *History of the Sikhs :Trans-Sutlej Sikhs*, Vol.111 (1769-99), The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore, 1944.
- Harbans Singh, *Heritage of the Sikhs*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964.
- Harbans Singh and N.G. Barrier (eds.). *Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976.
- Hasrat, Bikramjit (ed.). *The Punjab Papers*, V.V.R.L., Hoshiarpur, 1970.
- ... *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur, 1977.
- Hutchinson, G. and Vogel, J.P., *History of the Punjab Hill Stats*, Two Vols., Govt. Printing Press, Lahore, 1930.
- Irvine, W., *Later Mughals*, Two Vols., Luzac & Co., London, 1922.
- Khosla, R.P, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1934.

Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Two Vols., Oxford University Press, London, 1964.

... *The Sikhs*, George Alien & Unwin, London, 1953.

... *Ranjit Singh: Maharaja of the Punjab*, George Alien and Unwin, London, 1962.

Kohli, Sita Ram, *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records*, Two Vols., Govt. Printing Press, Lahore, 1919-27.

... 'The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,' *Journal of Indian History*, 1922-23.

Latif, Syed Mohammad, *History of the Punjab From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Punjab*, The Calcutta Central Press Company, Calcutta, 1891.

Macmunn, George, *The History of the Sikh Pioneers*, Sampson Law, London, 1935.

Marshmen, John dark. *History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration*, Three Volumes, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, London, 1867-74.

Parry, R.E., *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, London, 1921.

Payne, C.H., *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, n.d.

Ross, David, *The Land of the Five Rivers, Chapman and Hall, London, 1885.*

Sachau, Edward C., (tr.), *Alberuni's India*, London, 1924.

Saran, P., *The Provincial Govt. of the Mughals (1526-1658)*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1941.

Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, *Mughal Administration*, M.C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., Calcutta, 1935.

Scot, George Betley, *Religion and Short History of the Sikhs (1469-1930)*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (rpt.).

Sen, S.N., *Administrative System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925.

... *Military System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1928.

Sethi, R.R., *Mighty and Shrewd Maharaja*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1960.

... *The Lahore Durbar*, Pb. Govt. Record Office, Simla, 1950.

Sinha, N.K., *Ranjit Singh*, A Mukerjee & Co., Calcutta, 1968.

... *Rise of the Sikh Power*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.1936.

Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*, Sikh University Press, Lahore, 1941.

Vansitrat, Henry, *Life of Ahmad Shah*, London, 1801.

Waheed-ud-Din, Fakir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, The Lion Art Press, Karachi, 1965.